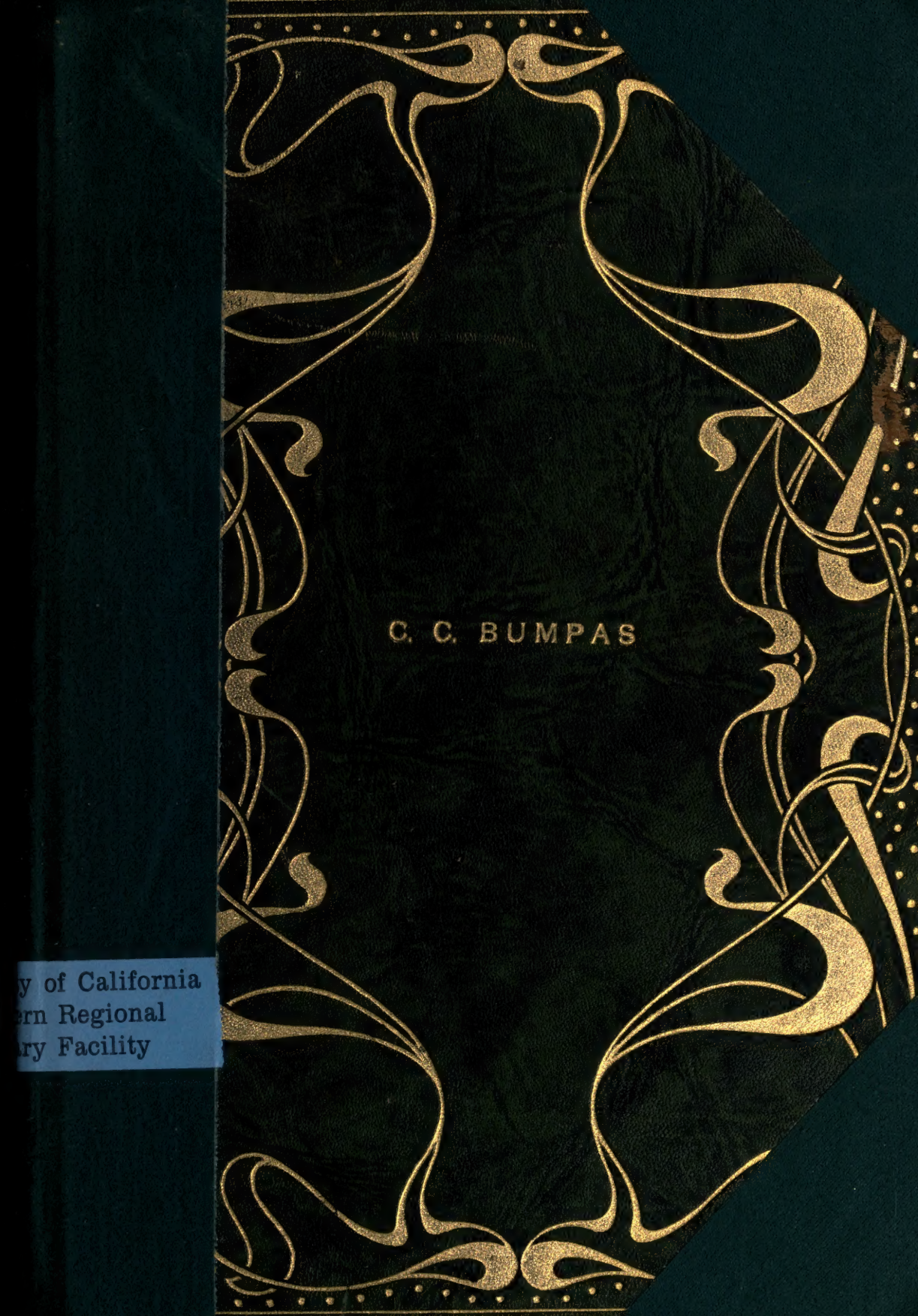




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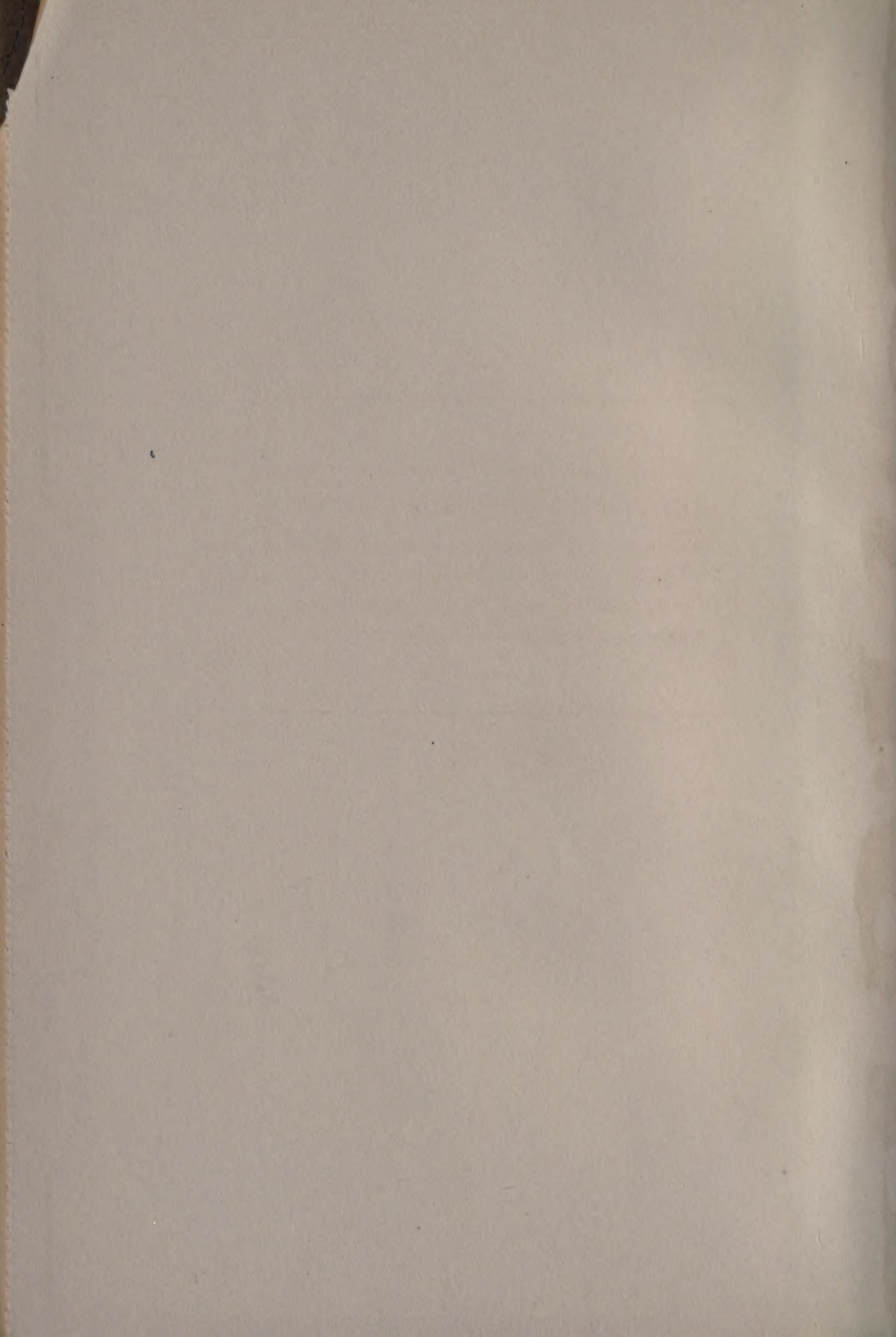
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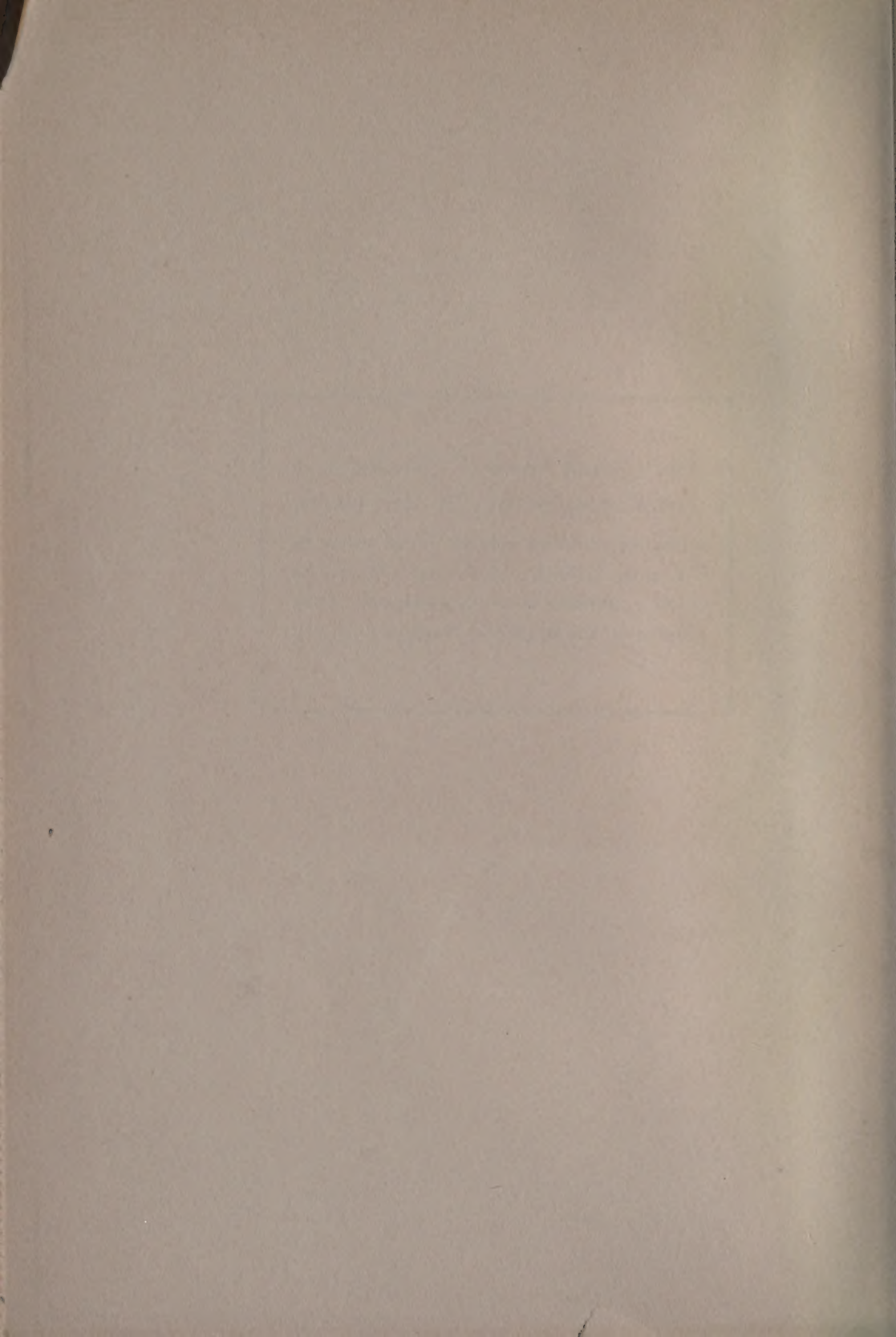
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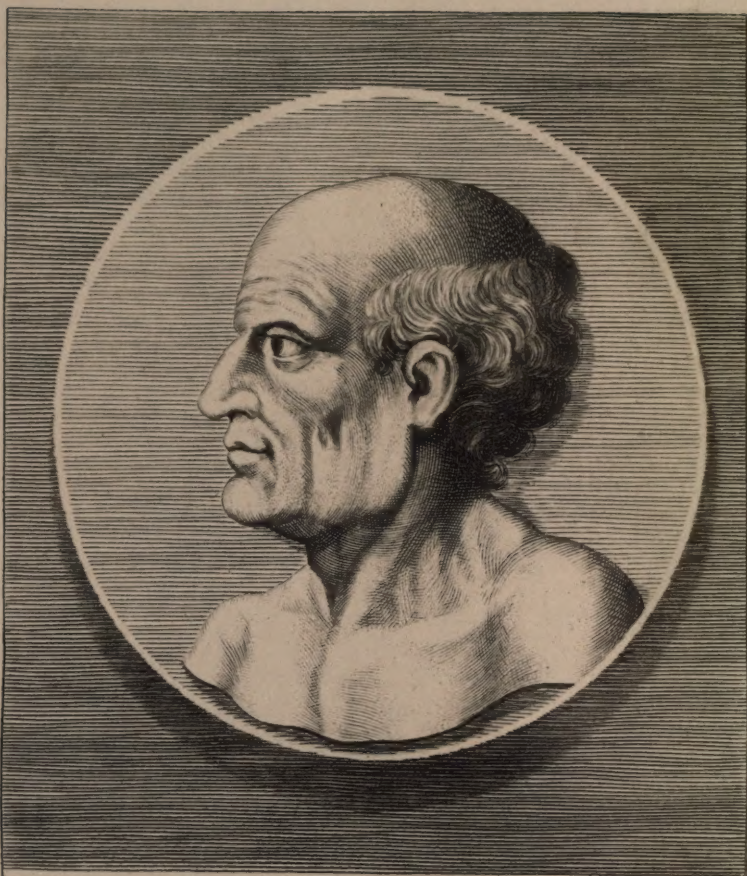
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CATO MAIOR COGNOMENO CENSORIVS

Rudioris tantum seculi sui uetustate secundus, ceterum eloquentia primus

Ex Dactylitheca Fulvii Vrsini in gemma

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THE MOST CELEBRATED
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LATED INTO ENGLISH PROSE
AND VERSE BY DISTINGUISHED
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ICAL APPRECIATIONS BY AN
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(PRINCETON) EDITOR IN CHIEF

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AND COMPANY
NEW YORK

OF HIS RUDE AGE; OTHERWISE FIRST."
"IN FLOODS SECOND, ONLY BECAUSE OF THE VINTAGE FASHION
FROM AN OLD ENGRAVING MADE FROM AN ANCIENT GEM
CATO MAJOR, CALLED THE CENSOR
—See the Life of Cato, by Nepos. Page 124.



CATO MAJOR COGNOMENO CENSORIVS

Religio sancta, modestia, integritas secundus, ceteris suis digniora praeus

Engraving by Siliij. Versini in gemma

CATO MAJOR, CALLED THE CENSOR

From an old engraving made from an ancient gem

"IN ELOQUENCE SECOND, ONLY BECAUSE OF THE ANTIQUE FASHION
OF HIS RUDER AGE; OTHERWISE FIRST."

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THE LATIN
CLASSICS

VOLUME EIGHT

Romance
Biography
Anthology

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INTRODUCTION

CLASSICAL ROMANCES

BY HARRY THURSTON PECK, L. H. D.

Professor of Latin in Columbia University

HE novel and romance of classical antiquity were both developed out of the anecdote and the short story. In fact, the history of prose fiction is very like the history of poetry; for the long poem, such as the epics of Homer, are really formed out of brief lyrics and poetical narratives which gradually become woven together into a consistent and harmonious whole. The anecdote and the short story are older than recorded literature, from their very nature. At first a person tells another person of some more or less remarkable occurrence which he has witnessed; the second person tells it to a third with additions and embellishments; and thus it is passed along until it represents something more than a truth or a fact, and becomes a short story to be classed as unconscious fiction. Later, persons deliberately invent all sorts of tales so as to give pleasure to others, and this is the beginning of conscious fiction.

The oldest stories in prose which have come down to us in Greek are found in the history written by Herodotus in the fifth century before Christ. These are gems of the narrator's art; for Herodotus had an instinct for whatever was picturesque and striking; and he records in his history a large number of tales which he heard during his extensive travels in Persia, Egypt and the lands bordering on the Black Sea. He does not vouch for their authenticity, but merely sets them down as being current among the people whom he met. Some of them are very brief, while others are long as many of the short stories of Hawthorne or of Edgar Allan Poe.

They are told with an artful simplicity which adds to their effectiveness; and in some of them the element of the supernatural is very deftly introduced.

Prose fiction, however, standing alone, did not appeal to the Greeks until a later period. They preferred the epic poem or the acted drama; and, though we find the beginnings of the novel in Plato, and the first continued love-story in Xenophon's *Cyropaedia*, it is not until a century or so before Christ that anything like novels or romances written in prose found interested readers. It is worth noting, too, that most of the Greeks who began to write prose fiction were natives of Asia rather than of Greece itself. Hence, it is likely that story-telling as a profession is to be traced to Persia and the oriental countries where it has always flourished.

The principal defect in the romances of Greece is to be found in the fact that they are destitute of one element which gives beauty and interest to our modern fiction. This element is the element of romantic love, of which the Greeks knew little or nothing. Courtship and marriage with them were prosaic affairs; and the Greek wife was kept in a sort of oriental seclusion. Therefore, these early novels dealt more with the mysteries of strange lands, the dangers of the sea, the exploits of pirates and robbers, and the mysticism of witchcraft and magic, than with those more personal and appealing phases of human life which the modern novel-reader finds to be the most attractive of all things. The short stories which were circulated under the title of "Milesian Tales," were not therefore truly romantic. When they dealt with women, the women were slave girls or adventuresses, and the point of the story had to do rather with the play of wits than with the attraction of hearts. One can find examples of these Milesian tales in the strange romance by APULEIUS, written in Latin and entitled *The Golden Ass*. In his preface to the book, Apuleius frankly says that he is merely stringing together a number of Milesian stories connected by a slender thread of plot. Among them, however, is the very striking narrative which might be called *The Adventures of a Commercial Traveler*, and there is also that very beautiful tale, half allegory and half romance, which

is known as *Cupid and Psyche*,¹ and which has inspired poets, painters and sculptors of modern times by its pathos and loveliness.

Taking up the classical romances, however, in their chronological order, we may note that the oldest is probably the loosely composed story of adventure written by one ANTONIUS DIOGENES and called *The Marvels Beyond Thule*. A very tenuous love plot enables the author to give his imagination full rein, for he takes his characters to the uttermost parts of the earth and makes them undergo the most extraordinary experiences, among them being a visit to the moon which is the forerunner, in classical times, of the well-known story, *A Journey to the Moon*, written by Jules Verne.

We find the development of plot in a novel styled *Babylonica* composed by a Syrian Greek, IAMBlichus, and by an Ephesian named XENOPHON, whose novel, *Ephesiaca*, is the ultimate source of Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet*.

Two novels written by Greeks stand out conspicuously. One is the *Æthiopica*² of HELIODORUS of the fourth century A.D., and it is usually considered the best novel of adventure written by any Greek author. It is quite long and is constructed with some art. The writer has woven his episodes together so closely as to give them consistency and compactness. The book has, indeed a very modern tone. One of its most interesting features is a physiological question upon which the whole story turns. A swarthy Ethiopian queen, when about to become a mother, has before her always a white marble statue of great beauty upon which she continually gazes. Such is the pre-natal influence of this fact, that she gives birth to a white child. Her husband therefore suspects her of infidelity, and this sets on foot a number of complications which are continued throughout the novel until it reaches what would now be called "a happy ending."

Another story of uncertain date and also of uncertain

¹ A translation of *Cupid and Psyche* by William Adlington (1566 A.D.) is included in the present volume.

² Translations of the *Æthiopica* of HELIODORUS and of *Daphnis and Chloe* (ascribed to LONGUS) will be found in volume seven of THE GREEK CLASSICS.

authorship, is the famous *Daphnis and Chloe*.¹ Here we find anticipated what Ruskin styles "the pathetic fallacy"—that is to say the notion that external, physical nature is in sympathy with human interests and emotions. Such a belief seems to run through the novels of Zola in modern times, and of the late Frank Norris, who was a conscious imitator of Zola. *Daphnis and Chloe* has a very curious theme. It relates to the unconscious growth of the sex instinct in a boy and a girl who have been reared together from their earliest infancy in a state of perfect innocence. The book is written with much charm of style and has been widely imitated for the last two centuries. It is the immediate source of Gessner's idyll, *Daphnis*, written in German, and of the very celebrated story, *Paul and Virginia*, composed by the French writer, Bernardin de Saint Pierre—a book which was so much liked by Napoleon that he carried a copy of it with him in his campaigns and read it over and over with delight. It was also consciously copied by Zola in his *Fortune des Rougon* through those chapters which relate the innocent love of Silvère and Miette. In English it is the original of Alan Ramsay's *Gentle Shepherd*.

In Latin there were undoubtedly many novels written, but only two of importance have survived. These, however, are in every way superior to anything which the Greek romancers at any time produced. One is *The Golden Ass* of APULEIUS, written in the second century of our era and already mentioned in the foregoing pages. It is a most entertaining and curious book of adventure, often indecent yet always interesting. Apuleius was an African by birth, a teacher of rhetoric by profession and a mystic in faith. He combines in this one book the tropical luxuriance of an exotic imagination, the florid metaphors of a rhetorician and the strange fancies which belong to mysticism.

The most accomplished artist in the writing of fiction, among all those who flourished in classical antiquity was GAIUS PETRONIUS, a Roman though possibly of Gallic extraction,

¹ Translations of the *Æthiopica* of HELIDORUS and of *Daphnis and Chloe* (ascribed to LONGUS) will be found in volume seven of THE GREEK CLASSICS.

who was a brilliant figure in the fashionable world during the reign of Nero. He possessed great ability and could show himself, when he chose, a man of action. But he preferred to give himself over to luxury and to set the fashions for Nero's court. If we reconstruct him from the slight notices that we possess, we find a man of wit, of keen observation, of wide reading and with a perfect knowledge of the world, equally at home in the slums, in the little country towns and at the imperial palace. At heart, he was inspired by a superb disdain for the degenerate men and women who surrounded him. His novel, of which we have only part of a single book, is in essence a satire upon his times. He does not denounce, nor does he jeer; but he draws a vividly realistic picture of the newly rich, the shameless poor, the pedantic scholars and the sinister code of morals that he knew so well. He alone of all ancient fiction writers understood the meaning of realism. Just as Zola with heavy hand and a sort of sledge-hammer ferocity exposed the rottenness of the Second Empire in France, so Petronius etches for us with a mordant acid the vices of the Neronian era. Instead of condemning what he shows us, he lets it stand forth as self-condemned by his wonderful portraiture. His characters, each of whom speaks after the manner of his kind, are living, breathing human beings. Around them coruscates the lambent unshaded light of the author's knowledge, while his wit gives pungency to his descriptions. This book of Petronius deserves to be immortal. It has been read and quoted ever since he wrote it. Its spirit is as modern as though it had been written yesterday.¹

Thus we see that classical fiction shows us all the types that have been developed in after years—the anecdote, the short story, the romance, the novel of adventure, the historical novel, the psychological novel and the realistic novel. For some curious reason fiction has never been taken as seriously as other forms of literary art. Rousseau was the first to proclaim it the equal of the drama. Its influence has been even

¹ A portion of this book, the *Satyricon*, is found in the present volume. The selection is entitled *Trimalchio's Feast*, and it is in the translation of Mr. Wilson, a writer of the seventeenth century.

greater than the influence of the stage. Much of what the ancients wrote in this *genre* has perished, and probably most of it deserved to perish. Yet we must not forget that, in the early centuries of the Christian era, novel reading was as great a passion as it is to-day. The church fathers comment upon the avidity with which romances and works of fiction are eagerly devoured. Hence it is evident that twenty centuries ago imaginative prose played an important part in the intellectual diversions of men and women everywhere. It continued to do so down through the Middle Ages; and to-day it has become a great engine of public opinion, made more powerful and effective, yet nevertheless exhibiting no forms that were unknown at Rome, in Athens and throughout Hellenic Asia.

TRIMALCHIO'S FEAST

FROM THE
SATYRICON
OF
PETRONIUS ARBITER

Made ~~English~~ by *Mr. Wilson* of the
Middle Temple

With an Introductory
LIFE OF PETRONIUS ARBITER

Written by *Monsieur St. Evremont*;
Made ~~English~~ by *Mr. Tho. Brown*.

THE
LIFE
OF
PETRONIUS ARBITER.

Written by Monsieur *St. Evremont*;
Made ~~English~~ by Mr. *Tho. Brown*.

TITUS PETRONIUS was a Roman Knight, descended from that Branch of the Family of the *Petronius's*, which deriv'd their Original from the *Sabines*, and who gave so many great Men to the Service of the *Roman* Republick. We cannot doubt but he was brought up with the same prudent Care that they then employ'd at *Rome*, in the Education of Children of Quality, and that his Genius was continually exercis'd and cultivated in the attainment of polite Learning, even from his very Youth; for in those things the *Romans* were as strict and severe as the *Greeks*. *Petronius* himself was also naturally and more particularly inclin'd to the Study of good Literature; and it's apparent that he excell'd in it, by the Ingenuity and Politeness he has discover'd in his Writings.

When he had compleated himself in the first Rudiments in Learning, he made his appearance at the Imperial Court of *Claudius*; but his great Assiduity there was no impediment to the chief design of perfecting himself in the Liberal Sciences, and therefore employ'd his leisure Hours in making *Declamations*, which was the custom of those times, in order to exercise and enable their young Men of the first Quality to speak in Publick, for which purpose they had Schools to Declaim

in, and by this successful method, furnish'd themselves with so many famous Oratours, both in their *Senate* and *Armies*; to the great advantage of their Republick.

The Court of *Claudius* was then the very Seat or Mansion of Pleasures; for the Empress *Messalina* employ'd all her Cares and Thoughts to make it so, in accommodating it with all imaginable Delights and Recreations, which she more easily accomplish'd, by having a great Ascendant over the Person and Inclinations of the Emperor; for he being a weak Prince, comply'd with every thing, provided they accommodated him with a plentiful Table, for he was an extreme lover of good Eating, and of drinking Wine even to excess; and his Courtiers following the Example of their Prince, Debauchery was no less familiar with them.

Petronius becoming a Courtier under a Reign where the manner of living was agreeable to his Temper, he also became insensibly Voluptuous; tho' at the same time it was observ'd, that he took no delight in the brutal Pleasures of Love, like *Messalina*, nor in those of the Table and Drunkenness with *Claudius*; only in a gallant and delicate manner took a relish of both, rather to gratifie his Curiosity than his Senses. In this manner he employ'd a part of the Day in Sleeping, and dedicated the whole Night to Pleasure and Business. His House was the Rendezvous of the better sort of the People of *Rome*: He pass'd away his time agreeably with those that visited him, and with others was celebrated for *Intrigues*. *Petronius* also procur'd himself a Reputation by an agreeable Employment, and in a method of acting easily, readily and freely, and his natural way of discoursing. One might then represent him in a continual exercise of Wit in Conversation, in the most charming Pleasures of the Table, publick Sights, Gaming, and in spending his Estate, not like a Prodigal and Debauchee, but like a nice and learned Artist in the Science of Voluptuousness.

When *Petronius* had thus pass'd away his Youth, in a Life of so much softness and Tranquility, he took a Resolution, to convince those that doubted of the extent of his Mind and Qualifications, that he was capable of the first and chiefest Employments in the Government; for putting an Interval

to his Pleasures, he accepted the Office of *Pro-Consul* of *Bithynia*; went into that Province, where he discharg'd all the Duties of his Place with great Applause; but having put a period to that exercise of his Parts, and returning to *Rome*, *Nero*, who succeeded *Claudius* in the Empire, in recompense of the Services, made him *Consul*. This new Dignity gave him a great and ready Access to the Emperor, who at first honour'd him with his Esteem, and afterwards with his Friendship, in acknowledgment of the sumptuous Entertainments he sometimes gave that Prince, to refresh him when fatigued with Business.

The time of *Petronius's* Consulate being come to a Conclusion, after having laboured in quest of Glory, without quitting the Court, he reassum'd his first manner of living, and whether it proceeded from his own Inclination, or a desire to please *Nero*, he soon became one of the Emperor's Confidants, who could find nothing agreeable to his Humour, but what was approv'd by *Petronius*; and being thus possess'd of the Authority of deciding what might be acceptable, gave him the Surname of *Arbiter*, as being Master and Controller in those Affairs.

Nero, in the first part of his Reign, acted like a very wise Prince, and apply'd himself with care to the Government of the State: However *Petronius* remembered, that he was naturally inclin'd to Lust and Sensuality, and therefore like an able Politician, being in possession of his Prince's Mind, he season'd it with honest Delights, and procur'd him all the Charms imaginable, in order to remove the thoughts of seeking after others, which peradventure would have been more disorderly, and to be dreaded by the Republick.

Things continu'd in this posture while the Emperor kept within the bounds of Moderation, and *Petronius* acted chearfully under him, as *Intendant* of his Pleasures, ordering him Shows, Games, Comedies, Musick, Feasts, pleasant Seats in the Country, with delicious Gardens, charming Lakes, and all that might contribute towards the making of a Prince's Life happy and delightful.

But the Emperor some time after complying with his Nature, chang'd his Conduct, not only in respect of Govern-

ing the Empire, but also in relation to his own Person. He gave ear to the Counsels of others, rather than those of *Petronius*, insensibly plung'd into Debauchery, abandon'd himself to his Passions, and became as morose and wicked a Prince, as before he had been pleasant and equitable.

Nero was a learned Prince, of which he had given sufficient Proofs from his Youth; for at Fifteen Years of Age he pleaded in the *Senate*, in his own Tongue, on behalf of the *Boulonnois*, and in Greek for the *Rhodians*; but his Knowledge was confus'd and much embarrass'd.

He also lov'd Men of Wit, and had Courtiers near him, who following the Corruption of the Court, treated *Seneca* like a *Pedant*, and could not suffer that he should Preach to them the Exercise of Vertue and Modesty, because they had imbib'd an Opinion, that he himself did not live like a *Philosopher* in that particular.

Thus continuing frequently to ridicule him, it at length insinuated into the Emperor's Mind, and expos'd him to his Contempt, which being joyn'd with his own Knowledge of the unjust ways by which he had acquir'd the immense Riches he was possess'd of, his Contempt grew into Hatred, and his Hate at last caus'd the Ruin of *Seneca*.

And now indeed *Petronius* saw with sorrow, that the Emperor began to hide himself from him, and sometimes to shun him, and that, following his own corrupt Inclinations, he was grown utterly debauch'd, and forgot what he ow'd to his Imperial Dignity, that he would frequently run wild up and down the Streets, and into wicked Places, outraging all he met, and would also offer Violencies to *Roman* Ladies of the best Quality.

The Favour to which *Petronius* was rais'd had also drawn upon him the Jealousie of those who pretended, as well as he, to the Grace and Favour of the Prince, and, among others, that of *Tigillinus*, Captain of the Guards, who was a dangerous Rival. This Man, of obscure Birth and Corrupt Manners, had in a short time acquir'd a great power over the Emperor's Genius, and as he perfectly knew his blind side, began seriously to contrive the Ruin of his Competitor, and by such means, as 'twas thought would also have destroy'd the Empire.

The choice of delicious Pleasures invented by *Petronius* grated the gross Debauches of *Tigellinus*, and foreseeing that the *Crédit Petronius* had with the Emperor would always be an Obstacle to his Designs, he therefore endeavour'd to possess himself of the Heart of the Prince; and finding himself prevail by degrees, he soon engag'd him in the foulest *Brutalities*.

It's true, 'twas no difficult thing to succeed in this attempt, for finding a Nature wholly dispos'd, he quickly, and with little trouble, seduc'd him to embrace such Pleasures, as were neither approv'd nor advis'd by *Petronius*, which were entirely dropt in order to remove his Rival; for *Nero* had already committed *Parricide* by murdering his Mother, and no sooner hearken'd to the Persuasions of *Tigellinus*, but he signaliz'd his Power, by putting *Sylla* and *Rubellius Plautus* to death, who were both Persons dreaded by them for their celebrated Vertues, and being highly esteemed and in favour with the People. Afterwards, Fury and Brutality render'd themselves Mistresses of his Heart to such an excess, that all manner of Crimes were perpetrated by him.

When the Emperor had confirm'd himself in these Disorders, our ancient Favourite, by the Artifices of the new one, found himself almost without Employment near the Prince, and *Nero* himself could not endure so nice a Witness of his *Infamias*, nor give him so free an entrance into his Pleasures as he formerly enjoy'd.

Tigellinus serving himself of these Dispositions, omitted nothing that might satisfie the Desires of his Prince, by the magnificent Feasts he provided; and as his Rival (according to *Tacitus*) much surpass'd him in the Science of Pleasures, one might conclude, without fear of being deceiv'd, that those which *Petronius* order'd were of another nature, and had nothing of those disorders in them that were seen in one of the Feasts which that Historian relates as an Example of all the rest, which he describes in this manner: They provided a stately Feast on the Lake of *Agrippa*; in a Vessel cover'd with Plates of Gold and Ivory; the Rowers were plac'd in their Ranks, which they took according to their Age and Experience in Debauchery. They had sent to the very ends

of the Earth for the rarest eatables. The Lake was edg'd with Porches, in which were great numbers of Chambers, fill'd on one side with Women of Quality, who prostituted themselves to the first comers, and the other with naked Courtizans in a thousand lascivious postures; at Night appear'd in all parts surprizing Illuminations, the Woods and Palaces round about echoed with Consorts of Musical Instruments and Songs adapted to the Feast. To conclude this grand Debauch in a famous Action, *Nero* was married a little after, to one of the most corrupted Wretches of this Troop, named *Pythagora*, and that publickly, with all the accustom'd Ceremonies. They put upon the Emperor's Head the Espoused's Vail, sent him two *Auspices*, assign'd him the Marriage-Portion, adorn'd the Nuptial Bed, lighted Flambeaux, and to conclude the Marriage, permitted that to be seen to the open view of all the Company, which the Shades of Night hide from the Eyes in the most lawful Pleasures.

Petronius being extremely disgusted at the Horrors he saw, insensibly withdrew himself from Court, and being of a mild and unenterprising Nature, suffer'd things to run in the train they had form'd, without attempting to re-establish them in the Condition he had left them. I am of Opinion, it was about this time that he took his Pen in Hand to compose this *Satyr*, which so exactly represents the Nature and Character of *Nero*, and under the Names of *Debauchees* and *Lewd Women*, decry'd all the Vices of this Prince and his Courtiers.

While *Petronius* liv'd in a retired Tranquility, *Tigillinus* labour'd with all his power to destroy him, and take away his Rival from all possibility of re-ent'ring into favour; and knowing that the Prince's Nature was inclining to Cruelty, he insinuated, that *Petronius* was too familiar with *Scevinus*, not to be dipt in *Piso's* Conspiracy; and for that end having suborn'd one of *Petronius's* Slaves to swear against his Master, to deprive him of all means of justifying himself, they put the greatest part of his Domestics in Prison.

Nero was well enough pleas'd to find an opportunity of losing a Man who was become a dead Weight upon his Affairs; for the Vicious cannot endure the presence of such

Persons, whose sight reproaches them with their abominable Practices; therefore favourably receiv'd the Accusation against *Petronius*, and order'd him to be apprehended at *Cumæ*, when the Emperor made a Voyage thither, where he was one of the Company: But as it required some time to deliberate whether they ought to put a Man of his consideration to Death, without clearer Proofs of his being guilty of the Crimes he stood charg'd with; he was so extremely disgusted, and also weary of living under the Domination of such a *detestable* Prince, that seeing himself so long a time made the Sport of his Caprices, he resolv'd to *dye*. However, that he might not give himself a precipitate Death, he open'd his Veins, and afterwards clos'd them again, that he might have time to enjoy the Conversation of his Friends, who came to see him in his last Moments; whom he requested to entertain him, not with Discourses of the *Immortality of the Soul*, and the celebrated Axioms that the Pride of Philosophers had invented, to acquire Glory and a vain opinion of their Constancy, but with the recital of some curious Pieces of Poetry.

And to convince the Spectators that he did not *Dye*, but only cease to *Live*, he continu'd his ordinary Functions; took a particular account of the Demeanour of Domesticks; recompenc'd some of his Slaves, and chastis'd others; set himself as formerly at his Table, and also slept very quietly, inso-much, that he rather seem'd a Man in perfect Health than one that was dying; so that his Death, tho' *Violent*, appear'd to his Friends as if it had been *Natural*.

Now, as *Petronius* abhorr'd the People of *Nero's* and *Tigellinus's* Character; so he would never condescend to the baseness of imitating those Animals, who dying in these wretched Times by the order of this Prince, made him their Heir, and stuff'd their Testaments with *Elogies* on the Tyrant and his Favourite.

But on the contrary, being possess'd of a *Goblet* of precious Stones, which cost him above 2000 Pistoles, and out of which he commonly drank, he broke it to pieces, that *Nero* might not have it after his death; and after this, thought fit to present him this *Satyr*, writ against him, and having seal'd it up, tore off the Seal again, for fear (after his Death) they

might employ it as an Instrument to destroy those in whose Hands it might be found.

This made *Nero* extremely chagrine, to see his infamous Actions made known to *Petronius*; and having levell'd his *Suspicion* upon all those who he thought might discover his Secrets, at last fix'd it upon the Wife of a *Senator*, named *Silia*, with whom he had been *too familiar*; but because she was also a great Friend of *Petronius's*, he imagin'd that, by a particular grief, she had hazarded a discovery of what had been more her Interest to conceal; upon which she was exil'd.

It was in the Year of the Foundation of *Rome* 819, (under the Consulate of *Caius Suetonius Paulinus*, and of *Lucius Pontius Telesinus*) that City lost so great a Person.

TRIMALCHIO'S FEAST

From the Satyricon of *Petronius Arbiter*;
Made English by Mr. Wilson

AND now came the third Day, on which we were invited to an Entertainment at *Trimalchio's*, where every one might speak his Mind: But having received some Wounds, we thought it convenient to withdraw to our Inn as fast as we could, and our Wounds not being great, we cured them as we lay in our Bed with Wine and Oyl.

But the Rogue whom *Ascyltos* had hewn down, lay in the Street, and we were in fear of being discovered: while therefore we were pensively considering which way to avoid the impending Storm, a Servant of *Agamemnon's* interrupted our Fears: And don't you know, said he, with whom you are to Eat to Day? *Trimalchio*, a trim finical Humourist, has a Clock in his Dining-room, contriv'd on purpose to let him know how many Minutes of his Life he has lost. We therefore drest our selves carefully, and *Gito* willingly taking upon him the part of a Servant, as he had hitherto done, we bad him put our things together, and follow us to the Bath.

Having in the mean time drest our selves, we rambled up and down we knew not where, and being resolv'd to give ourselves all the Diversion we could, struck into a Tennis-Court, where we saw an old Bald-pated Fellow in a Carnation-colour'd Coat playing at Ball with a company of Boys; nor was it so much the Boys, tho' it was worth our while to observe them, that engaged our Attention, as the Master of the House himself in Pumps, who altogether tossed the Ball, and never struck it after it once came to the Ground, but had a Servant by him with a Bag full of them, and enough for all that play'd.

We observ'd also other new things; for in the Gallery

stood two Eunuchs, one of whom held a Silver Bason, the other counted the Balls; not those they kept tossing, but such as fell to the Ground. While we admir'd the Humour, one *Menelaus* came up to us, and told us, This is the Gentleman you must sup withal to Night, and that we had seen the beginning of our Entertainment. As he was yet talking, *Trimalchio*, the vainest Man alive, snapp'd his Fingers, at which sign the Eunuch held the Bason to him as he was playing; then calling for Water, he dipped the tips of his Fingers in it, and dry'd them on the Boys head. 'Twould be too long to lay open the whole Scene: We went into the Hummums, and being presently in a Sweat, we descended into a Cold Bath; and while *Trimalchio* was anointed from Head to Foot with a liquid Perfume, and rubb'd clean again, not with Linnen, but the finest Flannel, his three Surgeons ply'd stoutly some Bottles of rich Muscadine; but brawling over their Cups, *Trimalchio* said it was his turn to drink; then wrapt up in a Scarlet Mantle, he was laid on a Chair, supported by six Servants, with four Lacqueys drest in rich Liveries running before him, and by his side a Sedan, in which was carried his Darling, a Squinting and Blear-ey'd over-grown Boy, more ill-favour'd and ugly than his Master *Trimalchio*; who, as they went on, kept close to his Ear with a Flagellet, as if he had whisper'd him, and made his musick all the way. Wondering, we follow'd, and, with *Agamemnon*, arriv'd at the Gate, on which hung a Tablet with this Inscription:

WHATEVER SERVANT GOES OUT WITHOUT HIS
MASTER'S LEAVE, SHALL RECEIVE A HUN-
DRED STRIPES.

In the Porch stood the Porter in a Green Livery, girt about with a cherry-colour'd Girdle, cleansing of Pease in a Silver Charger; and overhead hung a Golden Cage with a Magpye in it, which saluted us as we entred: But while I was staring at these Novelties, I had like to have broke my Neck backwards; for on the Left Hand, not far from the Porter's Lodge, there was a great Dog in a Chain painted on a Wall, and over him written in large Capital Letters, TAKE

CARE OF THE DOG. My Companions could not forbear laughing; but I recollecting my Spirits, pursued my design of going to the end of the Wall; it contain'd the draught of a Market-place where Slaves were bought and sold, with Bills tackt upon them shewing their Price: There was also *Trimalchio* with a white Staff in his Hand, and *Minerva* with a Train after her entring *Rome*: A little farther was represented after what manner he had learnt to cast Account, and how he was made Auditor; all exquisitely painted, with their proper Explanations; and at the end of the Gallery *Mercury* was discovered lifting him by the Chin, and placing him on a Judgment-seat, *Fortune* stood by him with a *Cornucopia*, and the three fatal Sisters weaving a Golden Thread.

I observed also towards the lower-end of the same place a Troop of Light-horsemen, with their Commander exercising them; as also a large Armoury, in one of the Angles of which stood a Shrine with Household Gods in Silver, a Marble Statue of *Venus*, and a large Golden Box, in which it was said he kept the first Shavings of his Beard. We enquired of the Servant that had the charge of these things, What Pictures those were in the middle? *The Iliads and the Odysseys*, said he, *and on the left hand are two Pieces of Sword-playing*. We could not bestow much time to consider them, for by this time we were come to the Dining-room, in the entry of which sate the Steward inspecting Accounts: But what I most admir'd, were those bundles of rods, with their Axes, that were fastned to the sides of the Door, and stood, as it were on the Brazen Prow of a Ship, on which was written:

CINNAMUS, STEWARD OF CAIUS POMPEIUS TRIMALCHIO, A MAN OF QUALITY.

Under the same Title also hung a Lamp with two Branches, from the Roof of the Room, and two Tablets on either side of the Door; of which one, according to the best of my remembrance, had this Inscription:

THE THIRD AND SECOND OF THE KALENDS OF
JANUARY, OUR PATRON CAIUS EATS ABROAD.

On the other was represented the Course of the Moon, and the Seven Stars; and what Days were Lucky or Unlucky, each distinguish'd by an Imboss'd Studd from one another.

Full of this Luxury we were now entring the Room, where one of his Boys, set there for that purpose, call'd aloud to us, ADVANCE ORDERLY. Nor is it to be doubted, but we were somewhat concern'd for fear of breaking the Orders of the place. But while we were proceeding accordingly, a Servant stript of his Livery fell at our Feet, and besought us to save him from a Whipping, alledging his Fault was no great matter, and that he had only lost some Cloaths of the Stewards in the Bath, which were hardly worth Eighteen-pence.

We returned therefore in good Decorum, and finding the Steward in the Compting-House telling some Gold, besought him to remit the Servant's Punishment: When putting on a haughty Face, *It is not*, said he, *the loss of the thing which troubles me, but the Negligence of a careless Rascal. He has lost me the Garments I us'd to Feast in, and which a Client of mine presented me with on my birthday; no Man can deny them to be right Purple, tho' not the double Dye; but let them be worth what they will, I grant your Request.*

Having receiv'd so great Favour, as we were entring the Dining-room, the Servant for whom we had been Intercessors, met us, and kissing us, with many Thanks for the Kindness we had done, *By and by*, says he, *you shall know, that the Wine which my Lord drinks of himself, is oftentimes in the disposition of his Servants.*

At length we sate down, when some Gypsie-Boys coming about us, poured Snow-water on our Heads, and others par'd the Nails of our Feet, with a mighty dexterity, and that not silently, but humming as it were to themselves. I resolv'd to try if the whole Family was good at Singing; and therefore called for Drink, which one of the Youngsters as readily brought me, with an odd kind of Tune; and in the same humour was every one you asked for anything.

Then came in a sumptuous Breakfast, for we were all seated but only *Trimalchio*, for whom after a new fashion, the chief place was reserv'd. Besides that, as a part of the

Entertainment, there was set by us a large Vessel of Metheglin, with a Pannier, in the one part of which were white Olives, in the other black; two broad pieces of Plate covered the Vessel, on the brims of which were engraven *Trimalchio's* Name, and how many Ounces of Silver they weigh'd, with little Bridges solder'd together, and on them Dormice, strew'd over with Honey and Pepper: There were also piping-hot Sausages on a Silver Grid-iron, and under that large Damsons, with the Kernels of Pomegranates.

In this Condition we were when *Trimalchio* himself was waddled into the Chorus; and being close bolster'd with Neckcloths and Pillows to keep off the Air, we could not forbear laughing in spight of our teeth: For his bald Pate peep'd out of a Scarlet Mantle, and over the load of Cloths he lay under, there hung an Embroider'd Towel with Purple Tassels and Fringes dingle dangle about it: He had also, on the little Finger of his left Hand, a large Ring of Gold, and on the extreame Joint of the Finger next it, one lesser, which I took for all Gold; but at last it appeared to be jointed together, with a kind of Stars of Steel: And that we might see these were not all his Gallantry, he stripp'd his right Arm, on which he wore a Golden Bracelet, and an Ivory Circle, bound together with a glittering Locket, and a Medal at the end of it: Then picking his Teeth with a Silver Pin, *I had not, my Friends*, said he, *any Inclination to have come among you so soon, but fearing my absence might make you wait too long, I deny'd my self my own satisfaction; however, suffer me to make an end of my Game.* There followed him a Boy with an Inlaid Table and Chrystal Dice; and I took notice of one thing more pleasant than the rest; for instead of black and white Counters, his were all of Silver and Gold.

In the mean while he was squandring his Heap at Play, and we were yet picking a bit here and there, a Cupboard was brought in with a Basket, in which was a Hen Carved in Wood, her Wings lying round and hollow, as sitting on Brood; when presently the Consort strook up, and two servants fell a searching the Straw under her, and taking out some Pea-hens Eggs, distributed them round the Company: At this *Trimalchio* changing Countenance, *I commanded my*

Friends, said he, the Hen to be set with Peahens Eggs, and by Hercules, I'm afraid they are half Hatcht; however we'll try if they are yet fit to be Eaten.

The thing we receiv'd was a kind of Shell, of at least six Pound weight, made of Paste, and moulded into the Figure of an Egg, which we easily broke; and, for my own part, I was like to have thrown away my share; for it seemed to me to have a Chick in it; till hearing a Guest who us'd to Eat at that Table say, *There was some good Bit or other in the Egg-shell*; I search'd further into it, and found a delicate fat Wheat-ear in the middle of a well-pepper'd Yolk: On this *Trimalchio* stopped his play for a while, and asking the like for himself, declar'd, *If any of us would have more Metheglin, it was at our Service*; when of a sudden the Musick gave the Sign, and the first Course was scrambled away by a Company of Singers and Dancers; but in the Bustle, it happening that a Dish fell on the Floor, a Boy took it up, and *Trimalchio* observing the Action, gave him a Box on the Ear, and commanded him to throw it down again; and presently the Groom of the Chamber came with a Broom and swept away the Silver Dish, with whatever else had fallen from the Table.

When presently came in two long-hair'd *Æthiopians*, with small Leather Bottles, such as they carry Sand in to strew on the Stage, and gave us Wine to wash our Hands, but no one offer'd us Water. We all admiring the Finicalness of the Entertainment, *Mars*, said he, *is a lover of Justice, and therefore let every one have a Table to himself; for having more Elbow-room, these nasty stinking Boys will be less troublesome to us*: And thereupon large double-ear'd Vessels of Glass close plaster'd over, were brought up, with Labels about their necks, upon which was this Inscription.

OPIMIAN MUSCADINE OF AN HUNDRED YEARS OLD.

While we were reading the Titles, *Trimalchio* clapped his Hands, and *Alas, alas*, said he, *that Wine should live longer than Man! Wine is Life, and we'll try if this has liv'd ever since the Consulship of Lucius Opimius, 'Tis right Opimian,*

and therefore make ready; that which I gave my Guests yesterday was not so generous as this, tho' they were Persons of better Quality that supp'd with me.

We drank, and admir'd every thing; when in came a Servant with a Silver Puppet, so jointed and put together, that it turned every way; and being more than once thrown upon the Table, cast it self into several figures; on which *Trimalchio* came out with his Poetry:

*Let's do what we can,
This Life's but a Span,
Exposed to Trouble and Sorrow;
Then drink my good Friends,
E're our Merriment ends,
For we may be dead by to Morrow.*

The Applause we gave him was follow'd with a Service, but respecting the place not so considerable as might have been expected: However, the Novelty of the thing drew every Man's Eye upon it; it was a large Charger with the twelve Signs of the Zodiak round it; upon every one of which the Master-Cook had laid somewhat or other suitable to the Sign: Upon *Aries*, a sort of Pease which resembled a Rams-head; upon *Taurus* a piece of Beef; upon *Gemini* Rumps and Kidneys; upon *Cancer* a Coronet; upon *Leo* an African Egg; upon the *Virgin* a lusty Boy; upon *Libra* a pair of Scales, in one of which was a Tart, in the other a Custard; upon *Scorpio* a Pilchard; upon *Sagittary* a Grey hound; upon *Capricorn* a Lobster; upon *Aquarius* a Goose; upon *Pisces* two Mullets; and in the middle of a Plat of Herbs, cut like a green Turf, and over them an Honeycomb. During this, a black Boy carry'd about Bread in a Silver Oven, and with a hideous Voice, forced a Bawdy Song from a Buffoon that stunk like *Assa Fætida*.

When *Trimalchio* perceived we lookt awry on such course Fare, *Come, come, said he, fall to, this is our manner of Eating.*

Nor had he sooner uttered these Words, than the fourth Consort struck up; at which the Waiters fell a dancing; and

took off the upper part of the Charger, under which was a Dish of cramm'd Fowl, and the hinder Paps of a Sow that had Farrowed but a Day before, well powder'd, and in the middle a Hare, larded with Finns of Fish on both sides, that it look'd like a Flying-Horse; and on the sides of the Fish four little Images, that spouted a Relishing Sauce on some Fish that lay near them, brought from the River *Euripus*.

We also seconded the Shout begun by the Family, and fell merrily aboard this; and *Trimalchio* no less pleas'd than our selves, cryed *Cut*; at which the Musick sounding again, the Carver humour'd it, and cut up the Meat with such Antick Postures, you'd have thought him a Car-man fighting to the Musick of a Bagpipe.

Nevertheless *Trimalchio* in a lower Note cryed out again *Cut*: I hearing the word so often repeated, suspecting there might be some Joke in it, was not ashamed to ask him that sate next above me, what it meant? And he that had been often present at the like Expressions, *You see*, said he, *him that Carves about, his Name is Cutter; and as often as he says Cut; he both Calls and Commands*.

The Humour spoiled my Stomach for Eating; but turning to him that I might learn more, I talkt pleasantly to him at a distance, and at last asked him who that Woman was that so often scutled up and down the Room?

It is, said he, *Trimalchio's* Wife, her Name is *Fortunata*, she counts her Money by the Bushel; but what sort of a Person think you she was a little while since? Pardon me, Sir, you would not have touched her with a pair of Tongs, but now, no one knows why or wherefore, she's as 'twere got into Heaven; and is *Trimalchio's all in all*: In short, if she says it is Mid-night at Mid-day, he'll believe her. He's so very Wealthy, he can't tell his Riches, but she has an Eye every where; and when you least think to meet her, she's at your Elbow: She is a very Scold, and indiscreet, a meer Magpye in Bed; whom she loves she likes, and whom she does not love she dislikes.

Then for *Trimalchio*, he has more Lands than a Crow can fly over; Bags upon Bags: There lies more Silver in his Porter's Lodge, than any one Man's Estate is worth. And

for his Family, Hey-dey, hey-dey, there is not (by *Hercules*) one tenth of them that know their Master. In brief, there is not one of those Fools about him, but he can change him into a Cabbage-stalk. Nor has he occasion to buy any thing, he finds all things at his own Door; Wooll, Fish, Pepper, nay, Hens-Milk; look about you and you'll find it. In a word, time was, his Wool was none of the best, and therefore he bought Rams at *Tarentum* to mend his Breed; as in like manner he did by his Honey, by bringing his Bees from *Athens*. It is not long since but he sent to the *Indies* for Mushroom-Seed: Nor has he so much as a Mule that did not come of a wild Ass. Do you see all these Quilts? there is not one of them whose Wadding is not the finest Comb'd Wooll, of Violet or Scarlet, Colour, dy'd in Grain. O happy Man! but have a care how you despise those Freed Men, they are rich Rogues: Look on him that sits at the lower end of the Table, he has now the Lord knows what; and 'tis not long since he was not worth a Groat, and carried Billets and Faggots upon his Back: So it is said, but I know nothing of it my self, but by hear-say, either he got in with an old Hog-grubber, or had to do with an *Incubus*, and found a Treasure: For my part, I envy no Man, if I get any thing, it is a Bit and a Knock. He lately set up this Proclamation.

C. POMPEIUS DIOGENES HAS SOME LODG-
INGS TO LET, FOR HE HATH BOUGHT A
HOUSE.

But what think you of Him who sits in the place of a Slave? how well was he once? I do not upbraid him: He was worth a Hundred Thousand Pounds, but has not now a Hair of his Head which is not Mortgaged; nor, by *Hercules*, is it his own Fault: There is not a better humour'd Man than himself; but those Rascally Freed Men have cheated him of all: For know, *when the Pot no longer Boyls, and a Man's Estate declines, farewell Friends*. And what Trade do you think he drove? He was an Undertaker, and by the Gains of that Employment eat like a Prince: He had his Wild

Boars served up covered: All sorts of Pastry, Fish and Wild Fowl, and Cooks for each sort of Provision: More Wine was spilt under his Table, than most Men have in their Cellars; a meer Phantasm: And when his Estate was going, and he fear'd his Creditors might fall upon him, he made an Auction under this Title:

JULIUS PROCULUS WILL MAKE AN AUCTION,
AND SELL SEVERAL GOODS HE MAKES NO
USE OF.

The Dish was by this time taken away, and the Guests, grown mellow, began to talk of what was done abroad, when *Trimalchio* broke in upon us, and interrupted the Discourse; leaning on his Elbow, This Wine, said he, is worth drinking, and Fish must swim; but do you think I am satisfied with that part of your Supper you saw in the Charger? *Is Ulysses no better known?* what then; *we ought to exercise our Brains as well as our Teeth*; and shew, that we are not only lovers of Learning, but understand it: Peace be with my old Tutor's Bones, who made me a Man amongst men: No body can tell me any thing that is New to me; for, like him, I am Master of the Practicks.

This Heaven that's inhabited by twelve Gods, turns it self into as many Figures; and now 'tis *Aries*: He that is born under that Sign has much Cattel, a great deal of Wooll, is a Blockhead, a Brazen-face, and will be certainly a Cuck-old: There are many Scholars, Advocates, and Horned Beasts, come into the World under this Sign. We applauded our Nativity-caster's pleasantness, and he went on again: The whole Heaven is under *Taurus*, and no wonder it bore Football-players, Herdsmen, and such as can shift for themselves. Under *Gemini* are often foaled Coach-horses, Oxen calv'd, and such are born as can claw both sides. I was born my self under *Cancer*, and therefore stand on many Feet, as having large Possessions both by Sea and Land. For *Cancer* suits one as well as the other, and therefore I put nothing upon him, that I might not press my own Geniture. Under

Leo, Spendthrifts and Bullies: under *Virgo* Women, Runagates, and such as wear *Iron Garters*: Under *Libra* Butchers, Apothecaries, and Men of Business: Under *Scorpio*, Poisoners and Cutthroats; Under *Sagittary*, such as are Goggle-ey'd, Herb-women, and Beggars of Bacon; Under *Capricorn*, poor helpless Rascals, to whom Nature bequeath'd Horns to defend themselves: Under *Aquarius*, Cooks and Paunch-bellies: Under *Pisces*, Caterers and Orators: *And so the World goes round like a Mill, and is never without its Mischief*; Men continually born perish. But for that Tuft of Herbs in the middle, and the Honey-comb upon it, I do nothing without just reason for it: Our Mother the Earth is in the Middle, made round like an Egg, and has all good things in her self, like a Honey-comb.

Most Learnedly, we all cry'd; and lifting our Hands, swore, neither *Ptolemy* nor *Copernicus* were to be compared with him; till at last other Servants came in and spread Coverlets on the Beds, on which were painted Nets, Men in Ambush with Hunting-poles, and whatever appertain'd to Hunting: Nor could we yet tell what to make of it; when we heard a great Cry without, and a pack of Beagles came and ran round the Table; after this Frolick was over, a large Dish was set before us, and in it a mighty Boar, with a Cap on his Head, (such as Slaves, at their making Free, do usually wear as tokens of Liberty) on his Tusks hung two Wicker Baskets, the one full of Dates, the other of Almonds; and about him lay little Pigs made of Sweet-meats, as if they were at Suck: They signified a Sow had Farrowed, and hung there as Presents for the Guests to carry home with them.

To the cutting up this Boar, there came (not he that had served up the Fowl as before, but) a two-handed Fellow with a swinging long Beard, Buskins on his Legs, and a short Embroidered Coat; who drawing his Wood-Knife, made a large Hole in the Boar's Side, out of which flew a number of Black-birds, which were caught in a trice as they flutter'd about the Room, by some Fowlers, who stood in readiness for that purpose. On which, *Trimalchio* order'd to every Man his Bird; and, *See*, said he, *What kind of Acorns this Wild Boar fed*

on: When presently the Boys took off the Baskets, and distributed the Dates and Almonds among the Guests.

In the mean time, I, who had private Thoughts of my own, was much concerned, to know why the Boar was brought in with a Cap upon his Head; and therefore having spun out the Thread of my Discourse, I told my Interpreter what troubled me: To which he answer'd, a very Novice can explain to you what it means, for there's no Riddle in it, but 'tis as clear as the Sun. This Boar stood the last of Yesternight's Supper, and dismiss'd by the Guests, returns now as a Free-man among us. I curst my self for a Block-head, and asked him no more Questions, that he might not think I had never before eaten with Men of Fashion.

Before we had made an end of our Discourse, in came a handsome Boy with a Wreath of Vine-Leaves and Ivy about his Head, calling himself now and then *Bromius*, another time *Lyceus*, and presently he said his Name was *Enhyus*, (several denominations of *Bacchus*) he carried about with him a Salver of Grapes, and with a clear Voice, repeated some of his Master's Poetry, at which *Trimalchio* turning to him, *Dionysius*, said he, *be thou Liber*, (i.e.) *Free*, (another Name of *Bacchus*) whereupon the Boy took the Cap from off the Boar's Head, and putting it on his own, *Trimalchio* added, *You will not deny me, but I have a Father*, *Liber*. We all praised the Conceit, and soundly kissed the Boy as he went round us.

This Scene being over, *Trimalchio* rose up and went to the Close-stool: we also being left at liberty without a Tyrant, fell to some Table-talk.

When presently one calling for a Bumper, The Day, said he, is nothing, 'tis Night before a Cat can lick her Ear, and concluded it best to go streight from Bed to Board. We have had a great deal of Frost, the *Bagnio* has scarce heated me; but a merry Bottle is Meat, Drink and Cloaths: For my part, I have wound up my Bottom, the Wine is got into my Pericranium; I am downright *Dunstable*—

Then *Selucus* took up the Cudgels, And I, said he, do not bath every Day, for he where I use to bathe is a Fuller: Cold Water has Teeth in it, and my Head grows every Day more

washy than other; but when I have got my Dose in my Guts, I bid defiance to the Weather; But, faith, I was at a Funeral, *Crysanthus* has breathed his last: Well, rest his soul, he was an honest Fellow, 'tis not long since we were drinking together, and methinks I talk with him now. Alas, alas! we are but Bubbles, meer Mites, yet they have somewhat in them; but we are meer emptiness. You'll say he would not be rul'd; yet not a drop of Water or crumb of Bread went down his Throat for five Days: Well, but he is departed, some say he dyed of the Doctor, but I am of opinion his time was come; for an honest Physician is a great Comfort. However he was decently carried out of his House with a rich Pall over the Coffin, and mightily lamented: He made some of his Servants free; but his Wife seem'd little troubled. You'll say again, he was not kind to her; but Women are a sort of Kites that will eat more than a Man can give them, and old Love is soon cold.

At this *Phileros* grew troublesome, and cry'd out, Let us remember the Living: He enjoy'd himself whilst he liv'd, and as he liv'd well so he dy'd well; and what has he now that any Man moans the want of? He came from nothing, and to his dying-day would have taken a Farthing from a Dunghil with his Teeth; therefore, as he grew up, he grew like a Honey comb. He dy'd worth the Lord knows what, all ready Money. But to the matter; I have eaten a Dog's Tongue, and dare speak truth: He had a foul Mouth, was all Babble, a very Make-bate, not a Man: His Brother was a brave Fellow, a Friend to his Friends, of an open Hand, and kept a full Table: He did not order his Affairs so well at first as he might have done, but the first Vintage made him up again, for he sold what Wine he would; and what kept up his Chin was the expectation of a Reversion; the Credit of which brought him more than was left him, but his Brother taking a Pett at him, devised the Estate to I know not what Bastard: He flies far that flies his Relations. Besides, this Brother of his had Whisperers about him, that were back friends to the other: *But he shall never do right that is quick of belief, especially in matters of Business;* and yet, 'tis true,

he'll be counted wise while he lives, to whom the thing, whatever it be, is given; not that he ought to have had it. He was, without doubt, one of *Fortune's* Sons; Lead in his Hand would turn to Gold, and without trouble too, where there are not Rubbs in the way. And how many Years think you he liv'd? Seventy-odd; but he was as hard as Horn, bore his Age well, and as black as a Crow.

I knew him some Years ago an Oil-man, and to his last a good Womans Man; but withal such a Miser, that, by *Hercules*, I think he left not a Dog in his House. He was also a great Whore-master, and a *Jack* of all Trades; nor do I condemn him for't, for this was the only Secret he kept to himself and carry'd with him.

Thus *Phileros*, and *Ganmiedes* as followeth: Ye talk of what concerns neither Heaven nor Earth, when in the mean time no Man regards the scarcity of Provisions: I could not, by *Hercules*, get a piece of Bread to Day; and how do you think this came to pass? Why the drought continues: For my part, I have not fill'd my Belly this Twelvemonth: A plague on these Clerks of the Market, the Baker and they juggle together, Claw me and I'll claw thee, which makes the poorer sort starve, whilst Rich Persons make Holiday all the Year. Oh that we had those Lyons I now find here, when I came first out of *Asia*, that had been to live: The inner part of *Sicily* had the like of them, but they so handled the Goblins, even *Jupiter* bore them no Good-will. I remember *Sasinius*, when he was a Boy, he liv'd by the Old Exchange; you'd have taken him for a Pepper-corn rather than a Man; wherever he went the Earth parch'd under him; yet he was a sincere honest Fellow at bottom; one might depend on him; a Friend to his Friend, and one you might boldly trust in the Dark. But how behav'd he himself on the Bench? He carry'd all things before him? made no starch'd Speeches, but was downright, and acted himself what he persuaded others to: But at the Barr he sounded like a Kettle-drum, and never feign'd himself Sick for the matter. I fancy he was like a Frenchman in his Temper; for he was so wonderful civil, so ready to salute us by our Names, we imagin'd him one of us. In his time Bread was as cheap as Water, a Half-peny Loaf

would have given a Man a Breakfast; but now a Sheeps-head will fetch a Shilling: Alas, alas! the times, are every Day worse and worse, like a Cow's Tail, we grow downward: And why all this? We have a Clerk of the Market not worth a Rush, and values more the getting of a Penny than the Lives of all Mankind: 'Tis this makes him laugh in his Sleeve; for he gets as much Money in a Day as would purchase an Estate: I know very well how he got the Fortune he is Master of; but if we were Men, he would not enjoy himself as he does; but now the People are grown to this pass, that they are Lyons at home, and Foxes abroad: For my part, I have eaten up my Cloaths already, and if Corn holds at the rate it does, I shall be forc'd to sell my House and all: For what will become of us, if neither Gods nor Men have Mercy on us? Let me never be happy I don't believe all this proceeds from Heaven; for no body believes there is a God; no one keeps a Fast, or values *Jupiter* of a Hair, but all stop their Ears to good Advice, and only trouble their Heads about what they are worth. Time was when our Matrons went in Procession with bare Feet, and their Hair dishevel'd, then with sincere Minds they pray'd to Heaven for Rain, and forthwith it rained by Pitchers-full; then, or never, were good times, every body was in a good Humour: Now we have no more Reverence for the Gods, than for so many Mice; they are bound Hand and Foot, and by reason of our Irreligion and Prophaneness, our Fields and Meadows languish and are barren.

More civilly, I beseech you, said *Echion*, the Constable of the Hundred, the worse Luck now, the better another time, said the Clown, when he lost his brindled Hog: What falls not out to Day may happen to Morrow; and so Life passes away. By *Hercules*, a Country is said not to be the better for having many People in it, tho' ours at present labours under that difficulty, but it is no fault of hers: We must not be nice, Heaven is equally distant every where; were you in another place, you'd say Hogs walked here ready dress'd: And now I think on't, we shall have an excellent Show these Holydays, a Fencing-prize exhibited to the People; not of Slaves bought for that purpose, but it will consist of Free-

men. Our Patron *Titus* has a large Soul, but is a very Devil in his Drink, and cares not a straw which side gets the better: I think I should know him, for I belong to him; he's of a right Breed both by Father and Mother, no Mungril. They are well provided with Weapons, and will fight it out to the last: The Stage will look like a Butcher's Shambles, and he has wherewithal to do it; his Father left him a vast Sum, what tho' he makes Ducks and Drakes of a thousand Pound, his Estate will never feel it, and he always carries the Reputation of it. He has his Waggon Horses, a Woman-Carter, and *Glyco's* Steward, who was caught kissing his Mistress; what a bustle's here between Cuckolds and Cuckold-makers! But this *Glyco* a damnable Rich Huncks, condemn'd his Steward to fight with Beasts; and what was that but to expose and make a Beast of himself? Where lay the Servant's Crime who perhaps was oblig'd to do what he did? She rather deserv'd to be brain'd, than the Bull that tossed her; but he that cannot come at the Breech, thrashes at the Pack-saddle: yet how could *Glyco* expect *Hermogine's* Daughter should make a good End? she'd have skin'd a Flint; *like begets its like*: *Glyco* might do what he would with his own; but it will be a Brand on him as long as he lives; nor can any thing but Hell blot it out; however every Man's Faults are to himself. I perceive now what Entertainment *Mammea* is like to give us; he'll be at Two-pence Charges for me and my Company; which if he does he will put *Narbanus* clean out of Favour; for you must know, he'll live at the full height; yet, in truth, what good has he done us? He gave us a Company of pittiful Sword-players, but so old and decrepit, that had you breath'd on them, they'd have fallen flat on their Faces: I have seen many better at a Funeral Pile; he would not be at the charge of Lamps for them; you'd have taken 'em for a parcel of Dunghil Cocks fighting in the Dark: one was a downright Fool, and gouty into the bargain; another Crump-footed, and a third half dead, and Ham-strung: There was one of them a *Thracian*, that made a Figure, and kept up to the Rule of Fighting; but, upon the whole matter, all of them were parted, and nothing came of this great block-headed Rabble, but a down-right running away: And yet, said he,

I made you a Show, and I clap amongst the rest for Company; but cast up the account, I gave more than I receiv'd; one good turn requires another, You *Agamemnon* seem to tell me, what would that troublesome Fellow be at; because you can speak and not do, you are not of our Form, and therefore ridicule what poor Men say; tho', set aside your Book-learning, we know you are a meer Blockhead. Where lies the matter then? let me perswade you to take a Walk into the Country, and see our Cottage, you'll find there somewhat to eat; a Chicken, a few Eggs, or the like: The bad Weather had like to have broke us all, yet we'll find enough to fill our Bellies. Your Scholar, my Boy *Cicero*, is mightily improved, and if he lives, you'll have a Pupil after your own Heart; he is pretty forward already, and whatever spare-time he has, he spends it at his Book: He's a witty Lad, well-featur'd, takes a thing without much Study, tho' yet he is but sickly: I kill'd three of his Linnets the other day, and told him the Weasels had eaten them; yet he found other things to play with, and has a pretty knack at Painting: He has a perfect Aversion to *Greek* but seems better inclin'd to *Latin*; tho' the Master he now has humours him in the other; nor can he be kept to one thing, but is still craving more, and will not take pains with any. There is also another of this sort, not much troubled with Learning, but very diligent, and teaches more than he knows himself: He comes to our House on Holidays, and whatever you give him he's contented; I therefore bought the Boy some Ruled Books, because I would have him get a smattering in Accounts and the Law; it will be his own another day: He has Learning enough already, but if he loses what he has got—I design him for a Trade, a *Barber*, a *Parson*, or a *Lawyer*, which nothing but the Devil can take from him: How oft have I told him, Thou art, Sirrah, my first begotten, and believe thy Father, whatever thou learnest 'tis all thy own: See, there's Sir *Clodpate* the Lawyer, if he had not been a Scholar he might have starved, or have hang'd himself; but now do but look upon his Purple Robes, I'll warrant he thinks himself as good as my Lord Chief-Justice. Letters are a Treasure, and a Trade never dies.

To this, or the like purpose, we were bandying it about, when *Trimalchio* return'd, and having wip'd the Ointment from his Face, and wash'd his Hands, Pardon me, my Friends, said he, I have been Costive for several Days, and my Physicians were to seek about the matter, when a Suppository of Pomegranate Wine, with Turpentine and Vinegar reliev'd me; and now I hope my Belly may be asham'd if it keep no better Order; for sometimes I have such a rumbling in my Guts, you'd think an Ox bellow'd; and therefore if any of you has a mind to ease himself, he need not blush for the matter; there's not one of us born without some defect or other, and I think no torment greater than wanting the benefit of going to Stool, which is the only thing even *Jupiter* himself can't prevent: What do you grin, *Fortunata*, you that break me so often of my Sleep by Night? I never deny'd any Man to do that in my Room might pleasure himself; and Physicians will not allow us to keep any thing in our Bodies longer than needs must; therefore if you have any further occasion, every thing is ready in the next Room: Water, Chamber-pots, Close-stools, or whatever else may be needful; believe me, being hard bound, affects the Head, and disturbs the whole body; I have known many a Man lost by it, when they have been so modest to themselves as not to tell what they ailed.

We thank'd him for his Frankness, and the Liberty he gave us, and to suppress our Laughter, set the Glass about again; nor did we yet know that in the midst of such Dainties we were, as they say, to clamber another Hill; for upon the flourish of Musick the Cloth being taken away, there were brought in three fat Hogs with Collars and Bells about their Necks; and he that had the charge of them told us, the one was two Years old, the other three, and the third full grown. I took it at first to be a Company of Tumblers, and that the Hogs, as the manner is, were to have shewn us some Tricks, till *Trimalchio*, breaking in upon my Expectation, Which of them, said he, will you have for Supper? for Cocks, Pheasants, and the like, are but Country Fare, but my Cooks have Coppers will boil a Calf whole. And therewith commanding a Cook to be call'd for, he prevented our Choice by ordering

him to kill the largest, and with a loud Voice ask'd him, Of what Rank of Servants in that House he was? to which he answering, Of the fortieth: Were you bought, said the other, or born in my House? Neither, said the Cook, but left you by *Pansa's* Testament. See then, said *Trimalchio*, that you dress it as it should be, or I'll send you to the Gallies. On which the Cook being sensible of his Power, went into the Kitchen to mind his Business.

But *Trimalchio* turning to us with a pleasanter look, ask'd us if the Wine pleased us, if not, said he, I'll have it chang'd; and if it does, let me see it by your drinking: I thank the Gods I do not buy it, but have every thing that may get an Appetite growing on my own Grounds hard by the City, which no Man that I know of has but my self; and yet it has been taken for *Burgundy* and *Champaigne*. I have a Project to joyn *Sicily* to my Lands on the Continent, that when I have a mind to go into *Africa*, I may Sail by my own Coasts. But prithee, *Agamemnon*, tell me what *moot-point* was it you argued to day; for tho' I plead no Causes my self, yet I have had a share of Letters in my time; and that you may not think me out of Love with them now, I have three Libraries, the one *Greek*, the other two *Latin*; therefore, as you love me, tell me, what was the state of the Question: The Poor and the Rich are Enemies, said *Agamemnon*: And what is Poor, answer'd *Trimalchio*? Spoke like a gentleman, reply'd *Agamemnon*. But making nothing of the matter, If it be so, said *Trimalchio*, where lies the Dispute? and if it be not so, 'tis nothing.

While we all humm'd this and the like stuff, I beseech you, said he, my dear *Agamemnon*, do you remember the Twelve Labours of *Hercules*, or the Story of *Ulysses*, how a *Cyclops* put his Thumb out of Joint with a Mawkin? I've read such things in *Homer* when I was a Boy; nay, saw my self the *Sybil* of *Cuma* hanging in a Glass Bottle: And when the Boy ask'd her, *Sybil*, what would you have? She answer'd, *I would die*.

He had not yet run to the end of the Rope, when an overgrown Hog was brought to the Table. We all wonder'd at the Expedition which had been us'd, thinking a Capon could

not have been dress'd in that time: and what increas'd our Surprise was, this Hog seem'd larger than the Boar which was just now brought before us: When *Trimalchio* looking more intent upon him, What, what, said he, are not his Guts taken out? No, by *Hercules*, they are not: Bring hither, bring hither this Rogue of a Cook. And when the Fellow stood hanging his Head before us, excusing himself, that he was so much in haste he forgot it. How, forgot it, cry'd out *Trimalchio*! Do you think he has given it no Seasoning, is it neither pepper'd or salted? Strip him: When in a trice it was done, and the Cook was placed betwixt two Executioners: We all of us began to interceed for him, as a Fault which might now and then happen, and therefore begged his pardon; but if ever he did the like again, there was no body would speak for him; tho', for my part, I think he deserv'd what he got: And so turning to *Agamemnon's* Ear, This fellow, said I, must be reckoned a careless Rascal; could any one forget to Bowel a Hog? I would not, by *Hercules*, have forgiven him, if he had serv'd me so in the dressing of a Mackeril. But *Trimalchio*, it seems, had somewhat else in his Head; for bursting into a Laughter, You, said he, that have so short a Memory, let's see if you can do your Office. On which the Cook, having put on his Coat again, took up a Knife, and pretending to tremble, ripp'd up the Hog's Belly, from whence immediately tumbled out a heap of Hogs-puddings and Sausages.

After this, as it had been done of it self, the Family gave a Shout, and cry'd out, *Health and Prosperity to Caius*! The Cook also was presented with Wine, a Silver Coronet, and a Drinking-bowl, on a broad *Corinthian* Plate: which *Agamemnon* more narrowly viewing; I am, said *Trimalchio*, the only person that has the true *Corinthian* vessels.

I expected that according to his usual Insolence he would have told us they had been brought from *Corinth*; but he pursued his Discourse with more discretion: And perhaps, said he, you'll ask me why I am the only Person that have them. And why the Copper-smith from whom I buy them, is called *Corinthus*? and what is *Corinthian* but what is made by *Corinthus*? And to shew you I am a Man of Letters, I'll

tell you from whence the Word *Corinthian* takes its Original. When *Troy* was taken by *Hannibal*, a cunning mischievous sort of a Fellow, he gathered all the Gold, Silver and Brazen Statues together he could find, and caused Fire to be set to the Pile. The Statues melting, intermixt their different Metals together, of which the Goldsmiths made Candlesticks, Sconces, and Salvers; so that *Corinthian* Vessels are a Miscellany of Gold, Silver and Brass; but neither this or that Metal in particular, pardon me what I say; I like Glass Cups better, others are not of my Opinion: If Glass was not so brittle, I would rather have it than Gold; but now 'tis of a very considerable value.

There was an Artist who made Glass Vessels so tough and hard, that they were no more to be broken than Gold and Silver ones: It so happen'd, that the same Person having made a very fine Glass Mug, fit for no Man, as he thought, less than *Cæsar* himself, he went with his Present to the Emperour, and had admittance; both the Gift and the Hand of the Workman was commended, and the design of the Giver accepted. This Artist, that he might turn the admiration of the Beholders into astonishment, and work himself the more into the Emperor's favour, beg'd the Glass out of *Cæsar's* Hand; and having received it, threw it with such force against a paved Floor, that the most solid and firmest Metal could not but have received some hurt thereby. *Cæsar* also was equally amaz'd and troubled at the Action; but the other took up the Mug from the Ground, not broken but only a little buldg'd, as if the Substance of Metal had put on the likeness of Glass; and therewith taking a Hammer out of his Pocket, he hammer'd it as if it had been a Brass Kettle, and beat out the Bruise: and now the Fellow thought himself in Heaven, in having, as he fancied, gotten the Acquaintance of *Cæsar*, and the Admiration of all Mankind; But it fell out quite contrary to his expectation: *Cæsar* asking him if any one knew how to make this malleable Glass but himself, and he answering in the Negative, the Emperor commanded his Head to be struck off; For, said he, if this Art were once known, Gold and Silver will be of no more esteem than Dirt.

As for Silver, I affect it; I have several Waterpots more

or less, whereon is the Story how *Cassandra* kill'd her Sons, and the dead Boys are so well emboss'd, you'd think them real. I have also a drinking Cup left me by an Advocate of mine, where *Dædalus* puts *Niobe* into the *Trojan Horse*, as also that other of *Hermerotes*, that they may stand as an Evidence there is truth in Cups, and all this Plate is Massy; nor will I part with what I understand of them at any rate.

While he was thus talking, a Boy let fall a Cup out of his Hand; on which, *Trimalchio* looking over his Shoulder at him, bad him be gone, and kill himself immediately; for, said he, thou art careless and mind'st not what thou art about. The Boy hung his Lip, and besought him; but he said, To what end dost thou intreat me, as if I required some difficult matter? I only bid thee obtain this of thy self, that thou be not careless again: But at last he forgave him upon our Entreaty. Hereupon the Boy run round the Table and cry'd, *Water without doors, and Wine within*. We all took the Jest, but more especially *Agamemnon*, who knew on what account he had been invited thither.

Trimalchio in the mean time hearing himself commended, drank more heartily and was merrier than before; and being within an Ace of quite out, Will none of you, said he, desire my *Fortunata* to Dance? Believe me, there's no one leads up a Country Dance with a better Grace? And with that flourishing with his Hand, he began to act the part of a Scaramouch, the Family all the while singing, *Youth it self, most exactly Youth it self*; and he had gotten into the middle of the Room, but that *Fortunata* whisper'd him, and I believe told him, such Whimsies did not become his Gravity: Nor was there any thing more unsteady than his Humour; for one while he inclin'd to the Advice of *Fortunata*, and another while to his natural Inclination: But what disturb'd the Pleasure we took to see her Dance, was his Notary's coming in; who, as they had been the Acts of a *Common-Council*, read aloud.

The Seventh of the Kalends of *August*, born in *Trimalchio's* Mannour near *Cumanum*, thirty Boys and forty Girls: There were also brought from the Threshing-floor into the Granary, Five hundred thousand Bushels of Wheat. The

same day broke out a Fire in a Pleasure-Garden that was *Pompey's* which first began in one of the Bayliff's Houses.

How's this, said *Trimalchio*! when were those Gardens bought for me? The Year before, answered his Notary; and therefore not yet brought to Account.

At this *Trimalchio* fell into a Passion; And whatever Lands, said he, shall be purchased for me hereafter, if I hear nothing of it in six Months, let them never, I order you, be charg'd or brought to any Account of mine. Then also were read the Orders of the Clerks of the Market, and the Wills of his Foresters, Rangers, and Park-keepers, by which they disinherited their Relations, and with ample praise of him, declared *Trimalchio* their Heir. Next that, were recited the Names of his Bayliffs; and how one of them that made his Circuits in the Country, turn'd off his Wife for having taken her in Bed with a Barber. We were inform'd also, that the Door-keeper of his Baths was turn'd out of Office; that one of his Auditors was found defective in his Accounts, and that the dispute between the Grooms of his Chamber was ended.

At last came in the Dancers on the Rope; and a Punch-belly'd Blockhead holding out a Ladder, commanded his Boy to hop upon every Round of it singing, and to dance a Jigg on the top, and then to tumble through burning Hoops of Iron with a Glass in his Mouth. *Trimalchio* was the only person that lik'd this Diversion, but withal, he said, he did not admire it; for there were only two Sights he was desirous to see, and those were Flyers on the High-rope, and Cock-fighting; and that all other Creatures and Shows were Trifles: For, said he, I bought once a set of *Stroulers*, and chose rather to make them *Merry-Andrews* than *Comedians*; and commanded my Bag-piper to Sing in Latin to them.

While he was chattering at this rate, a Boy chanc'd to stumble upon him, on which the Family gave a Shriek; the same also did the Guests; not for such a Beast, whose Neck they could willingly have seen broken, but for fear the Supper should have an unlucky end, and they be forc'd to lament the death of the Boy.

Whatever it were, *Trimalchio* gave a deep Groan, and

leaning upon his Arm as if it had been hurt, the Physicians ran thick about him, and *Fortunata* amongst the foremost with her Hair about her Ears, and a Bottle of Wine in her Hand, still howling, miserable unfortunate Woman she was! Undone, she was undone.

The Boy on the other hand, ran under our Feet, and beseech'd us to procure him his Pardon: But I was much concern'd, lest our Interposition might make but a scurvey end of the matter; for the Cook that had forgotten to disbowel the Hog was still in my Thoughts. I began therefore to look about the Room, for fear somewhat or other might drop through the Ceiling; while the Servant that had bound up his Arm in white instead of scarlet colour'd Flannel, was soundly beaten: Nor was I wrong in my Conjecture, for in lieu of another Course, came in an Order of *Trimalchio's*, by which he gave the Boy his Freedom, that it might not be said, so Honourable a Person had been hurt by his Slave. We all commended the Action, and from thence fell into a Chat of the instability of all Humane Affairs. You're in the right, said *Trimalchio*; nor ought this Accident to pass without Recording; and so calling for the Journal, he commanded it to be Enter'd; and presently, without much thinking, tumbled out these Verses.

*What's least expected falls into our Dish,
And Fortune's more indulgent than our Wish:
Therefore, Boy, fill the generous Wine about.*

This Epigram gave us an occasion to talk of the Poets, and *Marsus* the *Thracian* was thought most deserving the Bays, till *Trimalchio* (turning to one in the Company) I beseech you, said he, tell me the difference between *Cicero* the Orator, and *Publius* the Poet? for my part, I think one was the more Eloquent, the other the honester Man; for what could be said better than this?

*Now sinking Rome grows weak with Luxury,
To please her Appetite cram'd Peacocks die,
Whose gaudy Plumes a modish Dish supply.*

*For her the Guinea Hen and Capon's drest:
 The Stork it self for Rome's luxurious Taste,
 Must in a Cauldron build its humble Nest,
 To please each Sense to foreign Worlds we haste,
 Perfume our Wines, and by our Smell we Taste.
 Now Ceylon Spice; Anchovies Spain bestows:
 For us the Orange and the Limon grows.
 To fetch Cavier we found Geneva's Lake,
 And our own Shoars luxuriously forsake.
 The Grecians Oyl, the Germans Hams afford:
 Calabria Wine, to cheer the wanton Lord.
 High-relish'd Sauce, unknown in happier times,
 We fetch from Spain and Sunburnt Indian Climes.
 Bambooes and Mangoes loaded Nature waste,
 Decay our Strength, yet urge the wearied Taste.*

But now we are talking, which, in the Opinion of the Learned, are the most difficult professions to understand? I think a Physician and a Banker: A Physician, because he knows a Man's very Heart, and when the Fits of an Ague will return; tho' by the way, I hate them mortally; for by their good will I should be always taking one Slip-sop or other: And a Banker, because he'll find out a piece of Brass, tho' 'tis plated with Silver.

There are also brute Beasts which are laborious; to Oxen we are beholden for the Bread we eat; and to Sheep, for the Wooll that makes us so fine. But, O horrid! we both eat the Mutton, and make us warm with the Fleece. I take the Bees for Divine Creatures; they give us Honey, tho' 'tis said they stole it from *Jupiter*, and that's the reason why they Sting: For where-ever you meet any thing that's sweet, you'll ever find a Sting at the end of it.

He went so far as to exclude *Philosophers* from Business, while the Memoirs of the Family were carrying round the Table, and a Boy, set for that purpose, read aloud the Names of the Presents appointed for the Guests to carry home with them. *Wicked Silver, what can it not do!* Then a Gammon of Bacon was set on the Table, and above that several sharp Sauces, a Night-cap for himself, Pudding-pies, and I

know not what kind of Birds: There was also brought in a Rundlet of Wine, boiled off to a third part, and kept under Ground to preserve its strength: There were also several other things I can give no account of; besides Apples, Scallions, Peaches, a Whip, a Knife, and some Presents had been sent him; as Sparrows, a Flye-flap, Raisons, *Athenian* Honey, Night-gowns, Judges Robes, dry'd Paste, Table-books, with a Pipe and a Foot-stool: After which came in a Hare and a Sole-Fish: And there was also a Lamprey, a Water-rat with a Frog at his Tail, and a bundle of Beets.

We laugh'd at these Whims; there were five hundred more of them which I have now forgot: But when *Ascyllus*, who could not keep his Temper, shak'd his sides and laugh't at every thing so heartily, that he was ready to cry, a Free-man of *Trimalchio's* that sate next above me, grew hot upon't: And what, said he, thou Sheep, what do you laugh at? does not this Magnificence of my Master please you? you're richer than he, forsooth, and eat better every Day; by the God of this place, had I sate near enough you, I would have hit you a Box on the Ear before now: A hopeful Scoundrel, that mocks others; some rascally Night-walker, *not worth the very Urine he makes*; and should I throw a Chamber-pot on his Head, he knows not where to dry himself. I am not, by *Hercules*, quickly angry, *yet Worms are bred even in tender Flesh*. He laughs, and what Jest does he laugh at? what Wooll did his Father give for the Bantling? Is he a *Roman* Knight? I am the Son of a King. How came I then, say you, to serve another? In this I humour'd my own Fancy, and had rather be a Citizen of *Rome* than a tributary King, and now hope to behave myself so, as to be no Man's Jest. I walk like other Men, undisguiz'd, and can show my Head among the best, for I owe no Man a Groat: I never had an Action brought against me in my life, nor can any Man, abroad or at home, say to me, Pay me what thou owest. I have purchased a pretty Farm in the Country, and have every thing suitable to it: I have twenty Persons in Family, besides Dogs: I ransom'd my Bond-woman, lest another should wipe his Hands on her Smock; and between our selves, she cost me more than I'll tell you at present. I was made

a Captain of Horse without buying my Commission, and hope to die in such a manner, that I shall have no occasion to blush in my Grave: But you that are so inquisitive concerning others, never consider your self: Can you see a Mote in another Man's Eye, and not perceive a Beam in your own? Your Master then is ancienter than your self, an't please him; but yet thou, whose Milk is not yet out of thy Nose, that canst not say Boh to a Goose, must you be making Observations? Are you the wealthier Man? If you are so, Dine twice, and Sup twice in a Day; for my part, I value my Credit more than Treasures: Upon the whole matter, where's the Man that ever dunn'd me twice? Thou Pipkin of a Man, more limber, but nothing better than a Strop of wet Leather, I have served forty Years in this House, and came into it a Man's Estate; this Palace was not then built, yet I made it my business to please my Master, a Person of Honour, the parings of whose nails are more worth than thy whole Body. I met several Rubs in my way, but, by the help of my good Angel, I broke through them all: This is truth; it is as easie to make a Hunting-horn of a Sows Tail, as to get into this Family. What makes you in the Dumps now, like a Goat at a heap of Stones?

On this *Gito*, who stood behind him, burst out a laughing; which the other taking notice of, fell upon the Boy; and, Do you, said he, laugh too, you curl-pated chattering Magpye? Are these Holy-days? why how now, Sirrah, is it the Month of *December*? Are you come to Age yet, I pray? What would this Skeleton dropt from a Gibbit, this Crows-meat, be at? I'll find some way for *Jupiter* to plague thee, and him that taught thee no better manners, or never let me eat a good Meal's-meat again: I could——Sirrah, but for the Companies sake I spare thee, tho' either we are mightily in the wrong of it, or they are Sots themselves that carry no better a Hand over thee; for without doubt the proverb is true, *Like Master like Man*. I am hot by Nature, and can scarce contain my self; give me but a Mess of Pease Pottage, and I care not Two-pence for my Mother. Very well, I shall meet thee abroad, thou Mouse, thou very Mushroom: May I never thrive more, but I'll drive that Master of thine into

a branch of Rue; nor shalt thou, by *Hercules*, get out of my Clutches, tho' thou couldst call *Jupiter* to thy assistance: I shall off with those Locks, and catch thee when that sorry Master of thine shall be out of the way; thou wilt certainly fall into my Hands, and either I know not my self, or I'll make thee leave this Buffoonry: Tho' thy Beard were of Gold, I'll have thee bruised in a Mortar, and him that first taught thee: I never studied *Geometry*, *Criticism*, and *meer Words without Sense*, but I understand the fitting of Stones for Buildings, can run you over a hundred things, as to Metal, Weight, Coin, and that to a tittle; if you have a mind, you and I will try it: I'll lay thee a Wager, thou Wizard, and tho' I know not a word of *Rhetorick*, thou'lt presently find thou hast lost: If you beat the Bush, I'll catch the Hare: Resolve me, I say, which of us runs, yet never stirs out of his place? Which of us grows bigger, and yet is less? Do you scamper? can't you tell what to make of it, that you look so like a Mouse in a Trap? Therefore hold thy Tongue, or don't provoke a better Man than thy self, who thinks thee but a Scoundril of Nature, perchance thou fanciest me taken with those yellow Locks, which thou hast already vowed to some Whore or other. O lucky Opportunity! come, let's walk to the *Exchange*, and see which of us can borrow Money: You'll be satisfied then, I am a Man of Reputation; a pretty thing, is it not to be drunk? So may I grow Rich whilst I live, and die well; but the People will brain me if I sit not on your Skirts as close as the Coat to your Back: He's a precious Tool too, whoever he were, that taught thee; a piece of green Cheese, no Master I am sure. I have learn'd as well as another Man, and my Master said it would be my own another Day. Save your worship! get home as fast as you can, but look well about you, and have a care how you speak irreverently of your Betters, or vie Estates with them; he that does it, his Purse shall pay for it: For my self, I thank God, you see me in the Condition and Circumstances I am.

Ascyrtos was making answer to his Railing, when *Trimalchio*, pleased with the good Grace with which his Freed-man deliver'd himself, Go to, said he, no more of this wild Talk,

let us rather be Merry; and you, *Hermeros*, bear with the Young-man, his Blood is all in a Ferment; be thou the sober Man; he that is overcome in this Quarrel, gains the Victory: Even you your self, when you were such another Capon, could cry nothing but *Coco, Coco*, and had no Heart at all. Let us therefore, which is the better of the two, be heartily Merry, and expect some Admirers of *Homer*, that will be here presently.

Nor were the words scarce out of his Mouth, when in came a Company of Players, and made a rustling with their Spears and Targets. *Trimalchio* lean'd on his Pillow, the *Homerists* rattled out Greek Verses as arrogantly as they were us'd to do, and he read a Latin Book with a loud Voice; whereupon Silence being made, Know ye, said he, what Fable they are upon.

Diomedes and *Ganymede* were two Brothers, and *Helen* was their Sister; *Agamemnon* stole her away, and sham'd *Diana* with a Hind in her stead, as *Homer* Sings in this place; and also how the *Trojans* and the *Tarentines* fell into Civil Wars; but at last he got the better of it, and Married his Daughter *Iphigenia* to *Achilles*; on which *Ajax* run mad. And there's an end of the Tale.

On this the *Homerists* set up a Shout, and a young boiled Heifer with an Helmet on her Head, was brought to the Table; *Ajax* followed, and with a drawn Sword, as if he were distracted, fell upon the Beef, cutting it now in one place, then in another, still acting as if he was Lunatick; till having cut the Heifer into Joints, he took them upon the point of his Sword, and distributed them to the Company. Nor had we much time to admire the Conceit; for of a sudden the Roof gave a crack, and the whole Room shook: For my part, I got on my Feet, but all in a confusion, for fear some Tumbler might drop on my Head; the same Fear also possess the rest of the Guests, who stood staring and expecting what new thing would come from the Clouds: when straight the main Beams of the Ceiling open'd, and a vast Circle was let down, all round which hung Golden Garlands and Alabaster Pots of sweet Ointments.

While we were required to take up these Presents, I

chanced to cast an Eye upon the Table, where lay a fresh Service of Cheese-cakes and Tarts, and in the midst of them a bak'd Image of the God which presides over Orchards, stuck round with all sorts of Apples and Grapes, as they commonly draw that Figure.

We greedily reached our Hands towards it, when of a sudden, a new Diversion gave us fresh Mirth; for all the Cheese-cakes, Apples and Tarts, upon the least touch, threw out a delicious liquid Perfume, which fell upon us.

We judging the Mess to be Sacred, that was so religiously and magnificently garnish'd, stood up and began a Health to the *August Founder*, the *Father of his Country*: After which Reverence, falling to catch that catch could, we filled our Napkins; and I plundered more furiously than the rest, who thought nothing too good to bestow upon *Gito*.

As these things were doing, in came three Boys in white, their Coats tuck'd about them, two of whom set on the Table three Household Gods, with Broaches about their Necks, and the other bearing round a Goblet of Wine, cry'd aloud, be the Gods Favourable! The Name of this, said he, is *Cobler*, that other's *Good-luck*, and the third's *Spend-all*: The Image of *Trimalchio* was also carry'd round the Hall, and every one having kiss'd it, we thought it shame not to follow the Example of the rest of the Company.

After this, when all of us had wish'd him Health and Happiness, *Trimalchio* turning to *Niceros*, You were wont, said he, to be a good Companion, but what's the matter we get not a word from you now? Let me entreat you, if you wish me well, do not break an old Custom.

Niceros pleased with the frankness of his Friend: Let me never thrive, said he, if I am not ready to caper out of my Skin to see you in so good a Humour, therefore whatever Stories I tell shall be pleasant, tho' I am afraid those grave Fops may laugh; but let them look to't, I'll proceed nevertheless; for what am I the worse for any one's laughing? I had rather they should laugh at my Jest than at my Person.

When he had thus spoke—he began this Tale——

I was once upon a time a Servant, and I dwelt in a narrow Lane, in the same House where *Gavilla* now lives; there,

by the good pleasure of the Gods I fell in Love with the Wife of *Tarentius*; he kept an Eating-House. Ye all knew *Melissa Tarentina*, a pretty little smart Lass, and very Beautiful; but, by *Hercules*, I fell in Love with her more for her good Humour than any other Reason. If I ask'd her a Favour, she never deny'd me; and for what Money I got, I made her my Cash-keeper; nor did she ever fail me when I had occasion for it. It so happen'd, that a She-companion of hers had dy'd in the Country, and she was gone thither; how to see her I could not tell; *but a Friend is not seen at dead lift*; it also fell out that my Master was gone to *Capua* to dispatch some Business: I laid hold of the opportunity, and perswaded mine Host to take a Walk in the Evening four or five Miles out of Town, you must know he was a bold Fellow, and durst have fac'd the Devil: The Moon shone as bright as Day, and about Cock-crowing we fell in with a Burying-place, and certain Monuments of the Dead: my Man loiter'd behind me a Star-gazing, and I sat down expecting him, and fell to Singing, and numbring them; when looking round me, what should I see but mine Host strip'd stark naked, and his Cloaths lying by the High-way-side. The Sight surpriz'd me very much, and I stood stock still as if I had been dead; but he piss'd round his Cloaths, and of a sudden was turn'd to a Wolf: Don't think I Jest; I would not tell a Lye for Ten thousand Pounds. But as I was saying, after he was turn'd to a Wolf, he set up a howl, and fled to the Woods. At first I knew not where I was, till going to take up his Cloaths, I found them also turn'd to Stone. Some Men would have dy'd for fear, but I drew my Sword, and killing all the Ghosts that came in my way, lighted at last on the place where my Mistriss was: I enter'd the outward Door; my Eyes were sunk in my Head, the Sweat ran off me by more streams than one, and I was just breathing my last, without thought of recovery, when my *Melissa* coming to me, began to wonder why I walk'd so late; and if, said she, you had been here a little sooner, you might have done us a kindness; for a Wolf came into the Farm, and has made a dreadful havock of the Cattle, but tho' he got off, he has no reason to laugh, for a Servant of ours ran him through

the Neck with a Pitch-fork. As soon as I heard her, I could not hold open my Eyes any longer, and ran home by Day-light, like a Vintner whose House had been robb'd: but coming by the place where the Cloaths were turn'd to Stone, I saw nothing but a puddle of Blood; and when I got home, found mine Host lying in Bed like an Ox in a Stall, and a Chirurgeon dressing his Neck. I understood afterwards he was a Fellow that could change his Skin; but from that Day forward could never Eat a bit of Bread with him, no, if you'd have kill'd me. Let them that don't believe me, examine the truth of it; and if I tell you a Lye, may my good Angels forsake me.

The Company were all in a maze, when, Saving what you have said, quoth *Trimalchio*, if there be Faith in Man, my Hair stands on end, because I know *Niceros* is no Trifler; he has good grounds for what he says, and is not given to idle talking: Nay, I'll tell ye as horrible a thing my self; but see there, what's that behind the Hangings?

When I was yet a long-hair'd Boy, for even then I liv'd a pleasant Life, I had a Minion, and he dy'd: He was, by *Hercules*, a Pearl, a Paragon, nay, Perfection it self: But when his poor Mother lamented him, and we also were doing the same, some *Witches* got round the House on a sudden, you'd have taken them for a Pack of Hounds hunting a Hare. We had then in the House a *Cappadocian*, a tall Fellow, stout and hardy, that would not have stept an Inch out of his way for *Jupiter* himself. He boldly drew his Sword, and wrapping his Coat about his left Arm, leap'd out of the House, and, as it might be here, (no harm to the thing I touch) ran a Woman clean through. We heard a pittifull Groan, but, not to lye, saw no body at all. Our Champion came in and threw himself on a Bed, but all black and blue, as if he had been thrashed with a Flail; for it seems some ill hand had touch'd him. We shut the Door, and went on with our Mourning; but the Mother taking her Son in her Arms, and stroaking him, found nothing but a Bolster of Straw; it had neither Heart, Entrails, nor any thing, for *the Faries*, belike, had stollen him out of his Cradle, and left a Wad of Straw instead of him. Give me Credit, I beseech ye, *Women*

are craftier than we are, play their Tricks by Night, and turn every thing Topsy-turvy. After this, that tall swinging Fellow of ours never came to himself again, but in a few Days Died raving mad.

We all wonder'd, as not doubting what he said, and kissing the Table in reverence to him, desir'd the Privilege of the Night, and that our Places might be kept till we return'd.

And now we thought the Lamps look'd double, and the whole Room seem'd quite another thing; when *Trimalchio* again, I speak to you *Plorimus*, won't you come in for a share? Will he entertain us with nothing? you us'd to be a pleasant Companion, could sing a Song and tell a Tale with the best; but alas! alas! the times are chang'd. My Horses, said the other, ran away with my Coach, I have been troubled with the Gout ever since. When I was a young Fellow, I sung so long, I had well nigh brought my self into a Consumption. What do you tell me of Songs, Tales, or Barber's Shops? Who ever came near me but one, only *Apelles*; and thereupon setting his Hand to his Mouth, whistled out somewhat, I know not what, which afterwards he swore was *Greek*. As he was mimicking the Trumpets, *Trimalchio* looking on his Minion, called him *Cræsus*: Yet the Boy was blear-eye'd, and employ'd himself in swathing a little black Bitch with nasty Teeth, and overgrown with Fat, in green Swaddling-clouts, the Boy set her half a Loaf upon the Table, which she refusing to eat, he cram'd her with it: On which *Trimalchio* commanded the Guardian of his House and Family, *Scylax*, to be brought; when presently was brought in a beautiful Mastiff in a Chain, who having a Hint given him by a scrape of the Porter's Foot, lay down before the Table; whereupon throwing him a Manchet, There's no one, said he, in this House of mine, loves me better than this Dog. The Boy highly resenting it, that *Scylax* should be so commanded, threw the Bitch on the Floor, and challeng'd the Dog to have a Rubbers with him. On this *Scylax* after the manner of Dogs, set up such a hideous Barking, that it fill'd the Room; and snapping at him, almost tore off a Locket of Jewels which *Cræsus* wore on his Breast; nor did the Scuffle end here, for a great Candlestick being thrown down upon

the Table, broke several Crystal Glasses, and threw the scalding Oyl upon the Guests.

Trimalchio, not to seem concern'd at the loss, kissed the Boy and commanded him to get on his Back; nor was it long e're he was a Cock-horse, and slapping his Master's Shoulders, and laughing cry'd out, *Fool, fool, and how many of them have we here?*

Trimalchio thus kept under for a while, commanded a Bumper to be fill'd and given round to the Waiters, with this further Order, That whoever refused it should have it poured down his Collar. Thus one while we were grave, and another while merry.

After this came Junkets and Forc't-meats upon the Table, the very remembrance of which, if I may be believ'd, will not yet down with me; for there were several cram'd Hens given about under the notion of Thrushes, and Goose Eggs with Caps upon them; which *Trimalchio*, not without Ostentation, press'd us to Eat; adding withal, that their Bones were taken out.

Nor were the words scarce out of his Mouth, when a Beadle rapp'd at the Door, and one in white, with a company of Roisters following him, came in upon us: For my part I was not a little surpriz'd; and, by his Lordliness, taking him for the Mayor of a Town, and our selves within his Liberties, was getting upon my Feet. *Agamemnon* laught to see me so concern'd, and bade me sit still; for, said he, this *Habinias* is a Captain of Horse, a good Mason, and has a special way with him in making Monuments.

Recover'd again with his Words, I kept my Seat, and wholly fix'd my Eye on *Habinias*: He came in Drunk, lolling on his Wife's Shoulders, with some Garlands round about him, his Face all trickling down with Ointment, he seated himself at the head of the Table, and incontinently call'd for Wine and hot Water.

Trimalchio was pleased with the Humour, and calling for a bigger Glass, asked him what Entertainment he had from whence he came?

Every thing, said the other, but your Company, for my Inclination was here; tho' by *Hercules*, all was very well.

Scissa kept a Nine-days Feast for his Servant *Miscellus*, whom he enfranchiz'd after he was dead: It is said he had a round Sum in the Chequer, for they reckon he died worth 50000 Crowns; yet this was all done in good order, tho' every one of us was oblig'd to pour half his Wine on the Grave.

But, said *Trimalchio*, what had ye to Eat? I'll tell ye, quoth *Habinas*, as near as I can, but sometimes I forget my own Name: However, for the first Dish we had a goodly Porker, with a Garland about him, and Puddings, Goose-gibblets Lambstones, Sweet-breads, and Gizzards; then there were also Beets, and Household-bread of his own baking, for himself, which I had rather have than White; it makes a Man strong, and I never complain of what I like. The next was a cold Tart, with excellent warm Honey, right *Spanish*, running upon it. I eat little of the Tart, but more of the Honey; I tasted also the red Pulse, and Lupines, by the advice of *Calvus*, and several Apples, of which I carry'd away two in my Handkerchief; for if I bring home nothing to my little she-Slave, I shall have Snubs enough; this Dame of mine puts me often in mind of her. We had also on a Side-table the Haunch of a Bear, which *Scintilla* tasting e're she was aware, had like to have vomited her Heart up: I on the other hand, eat a pound of it or better, for methought it tasted like Boars-flesh; and, said I, if a Bear eats a Man, why may not a Man much more eat a Bear? To be short, we had Cream Cheese, Wine boil'd off to a third part, fry'd Snails and Chitterlings, Livers, Eggs, Turneps, Mustard, and a Bowl that held a Gallon. Don't disturb me, *Palamedes*; there were also handed about a Basket of Sugar-cakes, of which we wantonly took some, and sent away the Gammon of Bacon. But tell me, *Caius*, I beseech you, what's the matter that *Fortunata* sits not among us? How came you to know her, quoth *Trimalchio*? till she has gotten her Plate together, and distributed what we leave among the Servants, not a Sup of anything goes down her Throat.

But unless she sits down, replied *Habinas*, I'll be gone; and was getting up, but that the word being four times given about for her, she came at last in a greenish Gown, and a

Cherry colour'd pair of Bodice, beneath which might be seen her Petticoat and Embroider'd Garters; then wiping her Hands on her Neckcloth, she plac'd her self on the Bed whereon *Scintilla*, the Wife of *Habinas*, was seated; and having given her a Kiss, told her, it was in Compliment to her that she was there. At length it came to this, that she took off her weighty Bracelets, and spewed them to *Scintilla*; which she admiring, she also unbuckled her Garters and a Net-work Purse, which she said was of the finest Gold.

Trimalchio observ'd it, and commanding all to be laid before him, See, said he, this Woman's Finery, and what Fools our Wives make us; they should weigh six Pound and a half; yet I've another made by the famous Jew which weighs ten: And that he might not be thought to be a Lyar, he call'd for his Gold Scales, and commanded them to be weigh'd: Nor had *Scintilla* more wit than t'other, for pulling a Golden Box out of her Bosom, which she called *Good-luck*, she took out of it two large Pearl Pendants, giving them in like manner to *Fortunata* to view: See, quoth she, what 'tis to have a kind Husband, I am sure no Woman has a better. What, said *Habinas*, hast thou put the Shame on me? thou toldst me thou couldst be contented with Glass Beads; and for this trick, if I had a Daughter, I'd cut her Ears off, tho' there were no more Women in the World. This is to P— warm and drink cold.

Mean time the Women being toucht with the Expression, fell a twittering, and being got mellow, fell to Kissing one another, one commended the Mistriss of the House, t'other the Master: when during this chit chat, *Habinas* stealing behind *Fortunata*, gave her such a toss on the Bed, that her Heels flew as high as her Head, on which she gave a squeak or two, and finding her Thighs bare, blushing, hid her Head in *Scintilla's* Bosom.

This Entertainment held a while, till *Trimalchio* calling for another Course to entertain his new Guests, the Servants took away the Tables that were before us, and having brought others, strew'd the Room with Pindust, mixt with Vermillion and Saffron; and what I never saw before, the Dust of a Looking-glass ground to Powder.

When immediately, says *Trimalchio*, I could have been contented with the Dishes we have had already; but since we have got other Tables, we must also have another Service; and if there be anything worth our having, bring it.

On which a spruce Boy that served us with warm Water, began to imitate a Nightingale; till *Trimalchio* giving the Word, a Servant which waited on *Habinas*, set up another Humour, and, as I believe, commanded by his Master, bel-low'd out;

Mean time Æneas had forsook the Shore.

Nor was I ever acquainted with a harsher sound; for besides his mean, barbarous, and Peasant-like way of expressing himself, he so stuff it with scraps of Verses, that even *Virgil* then first disrelish'd me; till at last he was so tir'd, that he could hold no longer: D'ye think, said *Habinas*, this Boy has learn'd nothing? I bred him with Stroalers that follow the Fairs: Nor has he his Fellow, whether he mimicks a Muliteer or a Buffoon. This Never-be-good has abundance of Wit; he's a Taylor, a Cook, a Baker, a Jack of all Trades, and but for two Faults, were exact to a Hair: He's crack-brain'd, and snores in his Sleep: For that Cast of his Eye I value it not, he looks like *Venus*, and therefore his Tongue is ever running; and were that Eye out, he were worth the Money I gave for him.

On which *Scintilla* interrupting him, told him he was a naughty Man, for not telling all his good qualities: He's a Pimp too, said she, if not worse, but I'll take care he receives his Reward for that.

Trimalchio laugh'd, and said, He knew he was a *Cappadocian*, that made as much of himself as he could, and, by *Hercules*, I commend him for't; when will you find such another? but, *Scintilla*, you must not be Jealous: Believe me, and I know you too; may I enjoy the Health you wish me, I play'd at Leap-frog so long with our Boy, that my Master grew jealous, and sent me to dig in the Country; but little said is soon amended.

Hereupon this Rascally Servant, as if he had been praised

all this while, produc'd an earthen Candlestick, and for half an hour, or better, imitated the Hautboys, *Habinas* singing the Base to him, and blabbering his under Lip with his Finger; that done, he went into the middle of the Room, and clattering some Canes together, one while he imitated the Bagpipes, and danced a Jigg to his own Musick; and another while with a ragged Frock and a Whip, Aped the Humours of a Carrier, till *Habinas* calling him, first kiss'd him, and then drank to him, which the other pledg'd; and wishing him better and better, I give you, said he, a pair of Buskins.

Nor had there ever been an end of this Trumpery, had not the last Service of Black-birds, baked in good Pye-crust, with Raisins and Chesnuts, been brought up, and after them Peaches, so stuck with Prickles, that they look'd like Hedge-hogs: Yet this might have been borne with, if the next Dish had not been such, that we should have rather chose to have starv'd than to have touch'd it: For when it was set upon the Table, and, as we thought, look'd like a good fat Goose, with Fish and all kind of Fowl round it, Whatever you see here, said *Trimalchio*, is all made of the same substance.

Like a cunning Loon, I strait apprehended what it might be; and turning to *Agamemnon*, I marvel, said I, whether they be all mash'd together, or made of Loam; for, in a Saturnal at *Rome*, myself saw the like imaginary Supper.

Nor had I scarce said it, when—quoth *Trimalchio*, So may I grow in Estate, not in Bigness, as my Cook made all this you see out of a single Hog; there is not an excellenter Fellow in the World than himself; he shall, if you please, make you a Poll of Ling of a double Tripe; a Plover of fat Bacon; a Turtle of a Spring of Pork; and a Hen of a Collar of Brawn; and therefore a Fancy took me to give him a Name suitable to his Parts; you must know I call him *Dædalus*: And because he understands his Business, I had Chopping-Knives of the best Steel brought him from *Rome*; and with that, calling for them, he turn'd them over, and admiring them, offer'd us the liberty of trying their Edge on his Cheek.

Immediately on this came in two Servants quarrelling about their Collars, at which each of them had a large

Earthen Pot hanging; and when *Trimalchio* determined the matter between them, neither of them stood to his Sentence, but fell to Club-law, and broke each others Pots.

This drunken Presumption put us out of order; yet casting an Eye on the Combatants, we saw Oysters and Scollaps falling from the broken Pots, and another Boy receiv'd them in a Charger, which he carried round to the Guests.

Nor was the Cook's Ingenuity short of the rest, for he brought us a Dish of bril'd Snails, on a Silver Gridiron, and with a shrill unpleasant Voice, sang as he went. I am ashamed to relate what followed, which was never heard of till then: Some Boys came in with a Bason of liquid Perfumes, and first binding our Legs, Ancles, and Feet with Garlands, anointed them with it, and put what remained amongst the Wine Vessels and the Lamps.

And now *Fortunata* began to Dance, and *Scintilla's* Hands went faster than her Tongue; when, says *Trimalchio*, Sit down *Philargyrus*, I give you leave, and you, *Carrio*, because you're an honest Fellow; and you, *Minophilus*, bid your Comrade do the like; what shall I say more? The Family so crowded upon us, that we were almost thrust off our Seats; and who should be seated above me, but the Cook who had made a Goose of a Hog, all stinking of Pickle and Kitchen-stuff; not yet content that he sate amongst us, he fell immediately to personate *Thespius* the Tragedian, and dare his Master to a Wager, which of them two should win the Prize next Wrestling.

Trimalchio abash'd at the Challenge; My Friends, said he, even Servants are Men; and however oppress'd by Ill Luck, sucked the same Milk our selves did; and for mine, it shall not be long e're I make them Free without prejudice to my self: To be short, I enfranchise all of them by my last Will and Testament.

I give *Philargyrus* a Country-Farm, and his She-Comrade; to *Curio*, an Island, with a twentieth part of my Moveables, a Bed and its Furniture; for I make *Fortunata* my Heiress, whom I recommend to all my Friends, and publish what I design to have done, to the end my Family may love me as much now as they will when I am dead.

All thanked their Master for his kindness; and he, as having forgotten Trifles, called for a Copy of his Will, which he read from one end to the other, the Family all the while sighing and sobbing; afterwards turning to *Habinas*, Tell me, my best of Friends, said he, do you go on with my Monument as I directed you? I earnestly entreat you, that at the Feet of my Statue you carve me my little Bitch, as also Garlands and Ointments, and all the Battles I have been in, that by your Kindness I may live when I am dead: Be sure too that it have an hundred Feet as it fronts to the High-way, and as it looks towards the Fields, two hundred: I will also, that there be all sorts of Fruit and Vines round my Ashes, and that in great abundance: For it is a gross mistake to furnish Houses for the Living, and take no care of those we are to abide in for ever: And therefore, in the first place, I will have it Engraven,

LET NO HEIR OF MINE PRETEND TO THIS
MONUMENT.

And that I may receive no Injury after I am dead, I'll have a Codicil annex to my Will, whereby I'll appoint one of my Freed-Men the Keeper of this Monument, that the People make not an House-of-Office of it. Make me also, I beseech you, on this my Monument, Ships under full Sail, and my self in my Robes sitting on the Bench, with five Gold Rings on my Fingers, and scattering Moneys among the common People; for you know I have ordered you a Funeral-Feast, and Two-pence a piece in Money. You shall also, if you think fit, carve me some of these Beds we now sit on, and all the People making their Court to me. On my right Hand place my *Fortunata's* Statue, with a Dove in one Hand, and with the other leading a little Dog in her Hand: As also my *Cicero*, and some large Wine Vessels close Cork'd, that the Wine don't run out; and yet carve one of them as broken, and a Boy weeping over it; as also a Sun-dial in the middle, that whoever comes to see what's a Clock may read my Name whether he will or no. And lastly, have a special consideration whether you think this Epitaph sufficient enough.

HERE RESTS CAIUS POMPEIUS TRIMALCHIO, PATRON OF THE LEARNED. A TROOP OF HORSE WAS DECREED HIM, WITHOUT SUING FOR, AND MIGHT HAVE BEEN A SENATOR, WOULD HE HAVE ACCEPTED IT. A PIOUS MAN, HONEST, VALIANT, AND TRUE TO HIS FRIEND. HE RAISED HIMSELF FROM LITTLE OR NOTHING, BUT LEFT BEHIND HIM A PRODIGIOUS ESTATE, YET NEVER HEARD A PHILOSOPHER. FAREWEL TO YOU ALSO.

This said, *Trimalchio* wept plentifully, *Fortunata* wept, *Habinas* wept, and the whole Family set up a Cry, as if it had been his very Funeral, nay, I also whin'd for Company: When, says *Trimalchio*, Since you know we must die, why don't we live while we may? so may I live my self to see you happy; as, if we plunge ourselves in the Bath we shall not repent it: At my Peril be it, I'll lead the way, for this Room is grown as hot as an Oven. Say you so, quoth *Habinas*, nor am I afraid to make two days of one; and therewith got up barefoot and follow'd *Trimalchio*.

I on the other hand turning to *Ascylltos*, asked him what he thought of it, for if I but see the Bath, I shall swoon away.

Let's drop behind then, said he, and whilst they are getting in, we'll slip off in the Croud.

The Contrivance pleas'd us; and so *Gitto* leading the way through the *Portico*, we came to the outer-most Gate, where a chained Dog bolted upon us so furiously, that *Ascylltos* fell into the Fish-pond. I who had been frightened at the painted Dog, and now gotten as drunk as *Ascylltos*, while I endeavour'd to get hold of him, fell in my self; at last the Porter's coming in saved us, for he quieted the Dog, and drew us out; but *Gitto*, like a sharp Rascal, secured himself, for whatever had been given him at Supper to carry home with him, he threw it the Dog, and that mollified him.

But when shivering with Cold, we desir'd the Porter to

let us out: You're mistaken, said he, if you think to go out the same way you came in, for no Guest ever did that yet: They come in at one Gate and go out at another.

In this sad pickle, what should we do? we found ourselves in a new kind of Labyrinth, and for Bathing, we'd enough of it already: However, Necessity enforcing us, we prayed him to shew us the way to the Bath; and *Gitto* having hung out our Cloaths a-drying in the Porch, we entered the Bath, which was somewhat narrow, and sunk into the Earth, not unlike a Rain-water Cistern; in this stood *Trimalchio* stark naked: Nor could we avoid his humours; for nothing, he said, pleased him better than to Bathe in a Crowd; and that very place had, in times past, been a Grinding House. Being weary at length, he sate down, and provok'd by the noisiness of the Bath, set up his drunken Throat, and fell a murdering some Songs of *Menecrates*, as they that understood him told us.

Other Guests ran round the Cistern with their Arms across, and made a clamorous noise with their Mouths; others either try'd to take up a Ring from the Pavement with their Hands bound behind them, or put one Knee to the Ground, to kiss their great Toes backward.

While they thus entertain'd one another, we went into the Hot-house that had been heated for *Trimalchio*, and being now recover'd of our Drunkenness, were brought into another Room, where *Fortunata* had set out a fresh Entertainment. Above the Lamps I observed some Womens Gewgaws. The Tables were massy Silver, the Earthen Ware double gilt, and a Conduit running with Wine; when, said *Trimalchio*, This day, my Friends, a Servant of mine open'd a Barber's Shop; he's well to pass, a thrifty Fellow, and a Favourite of mine: Come, let the Floor have Drink as well as ourselves; and for our part, we'll sit to it till Day-light.

While he was yet speaking, a Cock crow'd, at which *Trimalchio* grew disorder'd, and commanded the Wine to be thrown under the Table, and the Lamps to be sprinkled with it; then changing a Ring to his Right Hand, It is not for nothing, said he, this Trumpeter has given us notice; for either the House should be on fire, or one of the Neighbourhood will kill himself: Far from us be it, and therefore

whoever brings me this ill Prophet, I'll give him a Reward.

When immediately a Cock was brought in, and *Trimalchio* commanding to have him drest, he was torn in pieces by that exquisite Cook, who a little before had made us Fish and Fowl of a Hog, and put in a Stew-pan, and while *Dædalus* was taking a lusty draught, *Fortunata* ground Pepper.

After which *Trimalchio* taking some of the Banquet, bid the Waiters go to Supper, and let others supply their Places.

Whereupon came in another Rank of Servants, and as the former going cry'd out, Farewel, *Caius*, those coming in, said, Sit thou merry, *Caius*.

And here our Mirth first began to be disturb'd, for a Beautiful Boy coming in among those new Servants, *Trimalchio* pluck'd the Boy to him, and welcomed him over and over: Whereupon *Fortunata*, to maintain her Right, began to rail at *Trimalchio*, calling him a pitiful Fellow, one that could not manage himself, a shame and scandal to all honest Women, and a very Dog. *Trimalchio*, on the other hand, all confounded and vex'd at her Taunts, threw a Goblet at her Head: She fell a roaring as if she had her Eyes beat out, and clapt both her Hands before her Face.

Scintilla also stood amaz'd, and covered *Fortunata*, all trembling as she was, in her Bosom; the Boy also put a cold Pitcher to her Cheek, on which she lean'd and made a lamentable wailing and blubbing.

But *Trimalchio* did quite contrary; for, said he, what am I the better for this Graceless Woman? 'Tis well known I took her out of a Bawdy-House and made her an honest Woman, but now, blown up like a Frog, she bespatters her self; a very block, no Woman: But this poor Boy, born in a Cottage, never dreams of Palaces. May my good Genius so befriend me, as I'll bring down the Stomach of this seeming Saint, but in her Actions a Whore rampant: As inconsiderable as she makes me, I might have had a Wife with Two hundred and fifty thousand Pistoles, you know I don't Lye; but she was somewhat in Years, and thereupon my Friend *Jessamin* the Perfumer took me aside, and perswaded me not to let my Family and Name be extinguish'd; but whilst I am

making her Fortune, I have put a Thorn into my own Foot; but I'll have a care that she dig me out of my Grave with her Nails: And that you may immediately be sensible, Mistress *Minx*, of what I design to do, I enjoin you, *Habinas*, that you place not her Statue on my Monument, for fear we should fall together by the Ears when I am dead: Nay, that she may know I am able to plague her, she shall not so much as Kiss me when I die. After this, as he persisted to rattle and make a noise, *Habinas* entreated him to give over his Anger; There's not one of us all, said he, but one time or other does amiss; we are but Men, not Gods. *Scintilla* weeping, said the same, called him *Caius*, and by his own good Nature, begg'd of him to be pacified.

Trimalchio not able to refrain his Tears any longer, I beg of you, *Habinas*, said he, as you wish to enjoy what you have gotten, if I have done any thing without cause, spit in my Face: I lov'd the Boy, 'tis true, not for his Beauty, but that he's a hopeful thrifty Lad: He has got several Sentences by heart, can read his Book at first sight, saves Money out of his Days Provision, has a little Box of his own to keep it, and two drinking Cups; and does he not deserve to be in my Favour? but *Fortunata*, forsooth, will not have it so; your bandy Legs won't away with it. Be content with your own, thou She-kite, and don't plague me so, thou Harlotry, or otherwise thou'lt find what I am; thou know'st well enough, if I once set on't, I am immoveable. But we'll remember the Living.

Come, my Friends, let's see how Merry you can be, for in my time I have been no better than your selves, but by my own Industry I am what I am: 'Tis the Heart makes a Man, all the rest is but stuff. I buy cheap and sell dear; another Man may sell ye other things, but I enjoy my self: And thou Dughil-raker, art thou yet grunting, I'll take care hereafter you whimper for something.

But, as I was saying, my Frugality made me the Man I am; I came out of *Asia* no Taller than this Candlestick, and daily measured my self by it: and that I might get a Beard the sooner, rubb'd my Lips with the Candle-grease; yet I kept favourite to my Master fourteen Years (nor is it a dis-

honourable thing to do as one's bid) and the same time satisfy'd my Mistress: You understand me, Gentlemen, I'll say no more, for I hate boasting. By this means, as the Gods would have it, the Government of the House was committed to me, and nothing was done but by my Guidance: What need many words? My Master made me Joint-heir with *Cæsar*, and I got, by his Will, a Senator's Estate; but no Man thinks he has enough, and I had a mighty desire to turn Merchant. Not to detain you longer, I built five Ships, Freightied them with Wines, which at that time were as precious as Diamonds, and sent them to *Rome*; you'll think I desired to have it so: All my Ships founder'd at Sea, 'tis a true Story I tell you; *Neptune* swallow'd me in one Day Three Hundred thousand Crowns. Do you think I broke upon't? by *Hercules*, no; the Loss was but a Flea-bite: For, as if there had been no such thing, I built others, larger, better, and more fortunate than the former; so that every one esteem'd me a Man of Courage. As you know a great Ship carries a great deal of Force, I loaded them again with Wine, Beans and Bacon, Unguents, Planes and other Merchandize: And here *Fortunata* shew'd her Affection; for she sold all that she had; nay, strip'd her self to her very Smock, and put a round Sum of Money in my Pocket; tho' yet it was but a Pig of my own Sow. What the Gods will is quickly done; I got an Hundred thousand Crowns by the Voyage, and forthwith redeem'd the Lands my Patron had left me, built me a House, bought Cattle to sell them again, and whatever I went about gather'd like a Snow-Ball. But when I grew richer than all the Country besides, I gave over, and from a Merchant, turn'd Usurer, and bought Servants.

Thus resolved to give over Trading, a certain Astrologer that chanc'd to come to this Village would have perswaded me to the contrary. He was a *Grecian*, his Name *Sarapa*, one that held correspondence with the Gods. He told me a deal that I had forgotten, and laid every thing before me from top to bottom: He knew all that I had within me, and told me what I had the Night before to Supper; and you'd have thought he had liv'd with me all his Life-time.

I desire you'd inform me, *Habinas*, I think you was there,

he told me the Intrigue between my Mistress and me; That I had but Ill luck at Friends; that no one ever made me a return of my Kindnesses: That I had large Possessions, but nourish'd a Viper in my Bosom: Why should I not tell you all? I have, by his Account, thirty Years, four Months, and two Days yet to live; and in a short time shall have another Estate left me.

Thus my Fortune-teller. But if I can join my Lands here to those in *Apulia*, I shall be rich enough: In the mean time, by the Favour of *Mercury*, my Guardian, I have built this House: It was once, you know, a pitiful Cabbín, but now as magnificent as a Temple: It has four Dining-rooms, twenty Bed-chambers, two Marble Porticoes, a Gallery above Stairs, my own Apartment, another for this Viper; a very good Porter's Lodge, and the House is capable of receiving a thousand Guests: To be short, whenever his Highness comes this way, he had rather lodge here than in his own House, tho' it borders on the Sea: And many other Conveniences it has, which I'll shew you by and by. Believe me, *He that has a Penny in his Purse, is worth a Penny: They that have much shall have more.* And so your Friend, once no better than a Frog, is now a King.

And now *Stichus* bring me the Furniture in which I design to be carried to my Funeral Pile; bring also the Unguent, and some of that Ointment which I order'd for the cleansing my Bones.

Stichus made haste and brought in a white Coverlet, and Robe of State, and pray'd us to try if they were not fine Wool, and well woven. And see you *Stichus*, said *Trimalchio* smiling, that neither Mice nor Moths come at them; for, if they do, I'll burn you alive. I will be brought out in Pomp, that all the People may speak well of me.

With that opening a Glass Bottle of Spikenard, he caused us all to be anointed; and I hope, said he, it will do as much good when I am dead, as it does while I am living: Then commanding the Wine-Vessels to be fill'd again, Now imagine, said he, you are invited to my Funeral Feast. We, by this time nauseated, were ready to vomit; *Trimalchio* also was got extravagantly drunk, when behold a new Interlude;

he commanded the Cornets to come in, and lying at his full length upon the Bed, with Pillows under him, Suppose me, said he, now dead, say somewhat, I beseech you, in praise of me.

Whereupon the Cornets sounded as at a Funeral; but one above the rest, a Servant of that Freedman of *Trimalchio's* who, of all the rest, was the best condition'd, made such a Thundering, that it rais'd the Neighbourhood: On which the Watch, thinking the House had been on fire, broke open the Gate, and making an uproar after their manner, ran in with Water and Hatchets. When finding so fair an opportunity, we gave *Agamemnon* the slip, and scamper'd off, as if it had been a real Fire.

THE STORY OF
CUPID AND PSYCHE

FROM THE METAMORPHOSES, OR,
THE GOLDEN ASS OF APULEIUS

TRANSLATED BY
WILLIAM ADLINGTON
(1566)

WITH AN INTRODUCTION UPON
APULEIUS, THE LATIN LUCIAN
BY SIR GEORGE HEAD

INTRODUCTION

APULEIUS, THE LATIN LUCIAN

BY SIR GEORGE HEAD

THE *Metamorphoses* of Apuleius is a work singular of its kind,—a genuine ancient romance, written at the beginning of the second century, replete with graphic and characteristic descriptions, scenes and incidents, exhibiting, in infinite variety, the habits, manners, and customs prevailing among the people in the provinces subject to the Roman empire. Under the form of a personal narrative, interspersed with episodes, are collected interesting, instructive, and amusing sketches relating to popular superstitions, religious ceremonies, social entertainments, proceedings of courts of law, dramatic spectacles of the amphitheatres, hordes of robbers, etc., etc., etc. Nevertheless, although the detail of marvellous and fabulous adventures, mingled with the common occurrences of every-day life at such an early period, must naturally be a species of light reading, calculated above all things to engage the attention of the general public, there is perhaps no work of the ancient writers with which they are so little acquainted.

In order to account for a fact which at first sight would seem incompatible with the nature of a performance of extraordinary merit, it must be taken into consideration, that the work in question of Apuleius appears before the world in the singular predicament of a production written in Latin by a Greek and a foreigner. For Apuleius, the land of his birth having become a Roman colony, made himself master of the language of the mother country without the aid of a preceptor, and composed in Latin the *Metamorphoses*, and all other of his works that have descended to posterity. Therefore although everywhere throughout his writings there is most clear and abundant testimony of the varied knowledge

he possessed, as well as of a fertile imagination, acute understanding, and peculiar facility of description, his language is deficient in elegant purity of Latinity to such a degree, that despite of the abundance of quaint, humorous fancies, that in easy, familiar, and frequently eloquent diction he has embodied in an entertaining, well-concerted narrative, he can by no means be considered to deserve a place among genuine classic writers.

The imperfection of the Latinity of the *Metamorphoses* were a circumstance alone sufficient to account, to a great extent, for its limited circulation among classical students, and thence for its not acquiring a due meed of general celebrity; though there have been hitherto other more serious obstacles in its way that require to be mentioned. Although Apuleius was a Platonic philosopher, and notwithstanding that the *Metamorphoses* is written throughout in a highly moral tone, evidently with a moral object in view; moreover, that the pagan hero of his tale, after being conducted through various vicissitudes, terminates his career in the ranks of the priesthood of the goddess Isis, and that the descriptions of religious forms and ceremonies exclusively compose the whole substance of the eleventh and last book; the pages nevertheless reflecting the spirit of a period seventeen hundred years ago, are occasionally deformed by passages such as, in the present state of civilization in the nineteenth century, are not to be tolerated. [Accordingly one tale, of the many interjected into the works, and that one the purest, most classic of all, is herewith presented—the beautiful allegory, teaching trust in love, of Cupid and Psyche. It is in the earliest of many English translations, that by William Adlington, published in 1566.]

The period and the circumstances under which Apuleius composed his *Metamorphoses* are not known with precision, neither has it been ascertained when he himself flourished, farther than that he is supposed to have been about contemporary with Lucian, in the beginning of the second century. It is, at all events, generally admitted, that he was born of a good family at Madaura, a town in Numidia, southwest of Carthage, received the first rudiments of education at Car-

thage, thence proceeded to Athens to complete his studies, and afterwards set out on his travels through Italy, Greece, and Asia.

There is, however, one romantic event recorded to have happened to him, that possibly may have influenced his mind with reference to the composition of the *Metamorphoses*. While on his way to Alexandria, he happened to fall sick at the town of Oea, [now Tripoli], where his protracted visit in the house of a young man, his host, led to a matrimonial alliance with the young man's mother, a lady of large independent fortune, named Pudentilla, who had at that time been fourteen years a widow. Soon after the marriage was solemnized, the family of the lady, who as well as she herself appear to have been captivated at first with Apuleius's wit and learning, and to have anxiously promoted the alliance, joined all together in a conspiracy to dissolve the connexion, in order to prevent the alienation of Pudentilla's property. Accordingly they resolved to accuse Apuleius of the crime of witchcraft, on the ground that he had won the lady's heart by means of spells and incantations. On which ridiculous charge, sustained on proofs the most absurd and frivolous, he was arraigned with all the due formalities of the law, and the cause actually tried at Sabrata, a maritime town in Africa, 70 miles from Tripoli, then a Roman colony, before Claudius Maximus, the proconsul. On that occasion Apuleius pronounced in his defence the celebrated *Apology*, one of the principal of his works now extant, and defeated his antagonists triumphantly.

Although in that defence Apuleius never ventured to deny the existence of the deadly science of which he was accused, his forbearance is probably rather to be attributed to the desire of paying respect to the superstitious feelings of the age in which he lived, than to his own actual belief in the power of sorcery. At all events, it is replete with satirical contempt of the charge of his adversaries, and in its tone is precisely such as might be expected from him at a period when witchcraft had been denounced by the enlightened men of the age more than a hundred years before. Horace, for instance, had given the world a graphic picture of his senti-

ments on the subject of witchcraft in that witty apostrophe, [Satire 8] where, turning into ridicule the mysteries of Canidia and Sagana, he immortalizes their doings on a moonlight night on the Esquiline, and describes them seized with a sudden ridiculous panic, taking flight, and running away in dismay, helter-skelter, leaving false hair, teeth, and all the redoubtable implements of their art behind them.

Now, whether or not the mind of Apuleius may have been influenced by the opinions of his learned predecessors, even if it were only permitted to draw an inference from the sarcastic tone of the defence above alluded to, there are sufficient grounds of probability to come to the conclusion that, smarting under the vexatious and ludicrous charge of witchcraft made against him, he had recourse to the composition of the *Metamorphoses*—which is generally believed to be a satire on the superstition and vices of the age—as a vehicle for his sarcastic humour. Upon which supposition, therefore, it may be taken for granted that he availed himself, as the groundwork of his composition, of a pleasant fable of previous celebrity, which—relating to the miraculous adventures of a certain Lucius, who, by the magic art of the Thessalian witches, was transformed into an ass, and suffered a numerous train of vicissitudes till finally he was restored to his proper shape—particularly suited his purpose.

This tale, however, commonly recognized under the title of the *Golden Ass*, has been jointly attributed to Apuleius and to Lucian, which latter version, written in Greek, is unquestionably similar, and identical in the main features of the story; although—with the exception of the name of the hero Lucius, which is the same in both—the names of people and of places are different. Indeed, it is universally admitted that either both Apuleius and Lucian derived it from a common source, or that one took it from the other. By some, in a tone of slight confidence and on exceedingly slender authority, it is ascribed to one Lucius, of Patræ, a town at the northwest of Peloponnesus. It matters little, however, whether Apuleius borrowed the story from Lucian or from Lucius of Patræ, though it is probable he took it from Lucian. But, on the other hand, it is almost in-

credible to imagine that Lucian took it from Apuleius, since he would hardly have condescended, even had he availed himself of the performance of a contemporary Latin author, to send before the world a Greek version so infinitely its inferior. Indeed, the *Metamorphoses*, as well in excellence of composition as in quantity, bears an overwhelming proportion to the version of Lucian, and contains, of matter which confessedly and undisputedly belongs to Apuleius and to nobody else, the whole of the eleventh book and all the episodes, together with very numerous increments and embellishments in the body of the narrative.

Belonging to the latter portion—the literary property of Apuleius exclusively, to which no direct claim on the part of any other author has ever been made—the tale of Cupid and Psyche is to be especially noticed; which celebrated fable, written evidently with the intention to represent allegorically the career of the human soul, *psuchē*, through scenes of mortal tribulation to a state of celestial beatitude after death—since Apuleius entertained a deadly enmity to the Christians and their ceremonies, and there is, moreover, no prevailing indication on the part of the writer of any direct definite ideas of a Christian throughout the story—must therefore be alone attributed to the beautiful images suggested involuntarily to his poetical mind by those mysterious events which had been promulgated during the preceding century: which splendid images he engrafted on a structure of heathen mythology, and thereby producing the fable in question, gave it a prominent place in the *Metamorphoses*. With the exception of Cupid and Psyche, which forms the fifth episode in the volume, all the remaining nine episodes, containing tales relating to crime, superstition, the proceedings of criminal courts of justice, etc., being incidents of a character calculated to promote the object stated in the beginning, such as he might either have witnessed himself or heard of during his travels, it may be readily conceived that he introduced them accordingly, in order to compose the series of *Milesian Tales*, which he states in his extremely short preface are strung together for the entertainment of the reader. Little, however, is to be gathered of the object and design of the

author's work in the few introductory lines above alluded to, which, in the addition of Valpy, are not even dignified with the title of a preface, but incorporated with the body of the text at the opening of the book. With regard to the term "Milesian,"¹ the precise sense in which it was intended to be applied by Apuleius—whether to the numerous incidents and anecdotes comprised in the narrative of the *Golden Ass* or to his episodes—must remain a matter of conjecture; though it is most probable that he merely meant to use it in a general sense, as applicable to the style and character of the various detached pieces collected together in his composition.

Unquestionably, from the beginning to the end of the adventures of his hero Lucius, it was himself whom he intended to personate. Indeed, that such was his object, appears very clearly by a passage in the eleventh book, where he designates Lucius as a native of the city of Madaura, his own birth-place. And again, in the description of the mock trial at Hypata, where Lucius was tried for his life for murder, of which description of the proceedings of the court, and the ludicrous circumstances connected with the charge, that appear to be directly pointed at the real charge of witchcraft on which he himself was actually tried at Sabrata, not a word is to be found in Lucian, but every syllable is the pure invention of Apuleius exclusively. In addition to the above instances, there are various others throughout the work that might be cited in support of the supposition that Apuleius and Lucius are to be considered as one and the same person.

¹ From Miletus, a town of Asia Minor, capital of Ionia, whose inhabitants were celebrated for a description of pleasant fictions that, *par excellence*, obtained among the ancients the epithet above cited. Miletus was also remarkable for the oracle of Apollo situated there; and may be considered in the high road to that eastern source whence the Arabian Nights and other agreeable imaginative productions of a like nature have continually emanated—even, as we learn by the term in question, before the time of Apuleius.

THE MOST PLEASANT AND DELECTABLE TALE OF THE MARRIAGE OF CUPID AND PSYCHE

THERE was sometimes a certain King inhabiting in the west parts, who had a wife a noble Dame, by whom he had three daughters exceeding fair, of whom the two elder were of such comely shape and beauty as they did excel and pass all other women living; whereby they were thought worthily to deserve the praise and commendation of every person, and deservedly to be preferred above the residue of the common sort; yet the singular passing beauty and maidenly majesty of the youngest daughter did so far surmount and excel them two as no earthly creature could by any means sufficiently express or set out the same.

By reason whereof, after the fame of this excellent maiden was spread abroad in every part of the city, the citizens and strangers there, being inwardly pricked by zealous affection to behold her famous person, came daily by thousands, hundreds, and scores, to her father's palace; who, astonished with admiration of her incomparable beauty, did no less worship and reverence her with crosses, signs, and tokens, and other divine adorations, according to the custom of the old used rites and ceremonies, than if she were Lady Venus indeed.

And shortly after the fame was spread into the next cities and bordering regions that the Goddess whom the deep seas had borne and brought forth and the froth or the spurning waves had nourished, to the intent to show her high magnificence and divine power on earth to such as erst did honour and worship her, was now conversant amongst mortal men; or else that the earth and not the seas, by a new concourse and influence of the celestial planets, had budded and yielded forth a new Venus endowed with the flower of virginity.

So daily more and more increased this opinion, and now

is her flying fame dispersed into the next Island and well-nigh into every part and province of the whole world. Whereupon innumerable strangers resorted from far countries, adventuring themselves by long journeys on land and by great perils on water, to behold this glorious Virgin.

By occasion whereof such a contempt grew towards the Goddess Venus that no person travelled unto the town Paphos, nor to the Isle Gindos, nor to Cythera, to worship her. Her ornaments were thrown out, her temples defaced, her pillows and quishions torn, her ceremonies neglected, her images and statues uncrowned, and her bare altars unswept, and foul with the ashes of old burned sacrifice. For why, every person honoured and worshipped this maiden instead of Venus; and in the morning at her first coming abroad offered unto her oblations, provided banquets, called her by the name of Venus which was not Venus indeed, and in her honour presented flowers and garlands in most reverent fashion.

This sudden change and alteration of celestial honour did greatly inflame and kindle the mind of very Venus, who, unable to temper herself from indignation, shaking her head in raging sort, reasoned with herself in this manner:

“Behold the original parent of all these elements—behold the Lady Venus renounced throughout all the world, with whom a mortal maiden is joined now partaker of honour; my name, registered in the city of heaven, is profaned and made vile by terrene absurdities. If I shall suffer any mortal creature to present my majesty on earth, or that any shall hear about a false surmised shape of my person, then in vain did Paris, that shepherd in whose just judgment and confidence the great Jupiter had affiance, prefer me above the residue of the Goddesses, for the excellence of my beauty. But she, whatsoever she be that hath usurped mine honour, shall shortly repent her of her unlawful estate.”

And by and by she called her winged son Cupid, rash enough and hardy, who by his evil manners contemning all public justice and law, armed with fire and arrows, running up and down in the nights from house to house and corrupting the lawful marriages of every person, doth nothing

but that which is evil; who, although that he were of his own proper nature sufficient prone to work mischief, yet she egged him forward with words and brought him to the city, and showed him Psyche (for so the maiden was called), and having told the cause of her anger, not without great rage:

“I pray thee (quoth she), my dear child, by motherly bond of love, by the sweet wounds of thy piercing darts, by the pleasant heat of thy fire revenge the injury which is done to thy mother, by the false and disobedient beauty of a mortal maiden, and I pray thee without delay that she may fall in love with the most miserable creature living, most poor, the most crooked, and the most vile, that there may be none found in all the world of like wretchedness.”

When she had spoken these words, she embraced and kissed her son, and took her voyage towards the sea.

When she was come to the sea, she began to call the Gods and Goddesses who were obedient at her voice. For incontinent came the daughters of Nereus singing with tunes melodiously—Portunus with his bristled and rough beard; Salatia with her bosom full of fish; Palemon the driver of the Dolphin; the trumpeters of Triton leaping hither and thither and blowing with heavenly noise: such was the company which followed Venus marching towards the ocean sea.

In the mean season Psyche with all her beauty received no fruit of her honour. She was wondered at of all; she was praised of all; but she perceived that no king or prince nor any of the inferior sort did repair to woo her. Every one marvelled at her divine beauty, as it were at some image well painted and set out.

Her other two sisters, which were nothing so greatly exalted by the people, were royally married to two kings; but the virgin Psyche sitting at home alone lamented her solitary life, and being disquieted both in mind and body, although she pleased all the world, yet hated she in herself her own beauty.

Whereupon the miserable father of his unfortunate daughter, suspecting that the Gods and powers of heaven did envy her estate, went into the town called Miletus to receive the oracle of Apollo, where he made his prayers and offered

sacrifice, and desired a husband for his daughter; but Apollo, though he were a Grecian and of the country of Ionia, because of the foundation of Miletus, yet he gave answer in Latin verse, the sense whereof was this:

Let Psyche's corpse be clad in mourning weed
And set on rock on yonder hill aloft;
Her husband is no weight of human seed,
But serpent dire and fierce, as may be thought,
Who flies with wings above in starry skies,
And doth subdue each thing with fiery flight.
The Gods themselves and powers that seem so wise
With mighty love be subject to his might.
The rivers black and deadly floods of pain
And darkness eke as thrall to him remain.

The King sometimes happy, when he heard the prophecy of Apollo returned home sad and sorrowful, and declared to his wife the miserable and unhappy fate of his daughter; then they began to lament, and weep, and passed over many days in great sorrow.

But now the time approached of Psyche's marriage: preparation was made, black torches were lighted, and pleasant songs were turned into pitiful cries, the melody of Hymen was ended with deadly howling, the maiden that should be married did wipe her eyes with her veil; all the family and people of the city weeped likewise, and with great lamentation was ordained a remiss time for that day, but necessity compelled that Psyche should be brought to her appointed place according to the divine commandment.

And when the solemnity was ended, they went to bring this sorrowful spouse not to her marriage but to her final end and burial. And while the father and mother of Psyche did go forward, weeping and crying to do this enterprise, Psyche spake unto them in this sort:

"Why torment you your unhappy age with continual dolour? Why trouble you your spirits, which are more rather mine than yours? Why soil ye your faces with tears, which I ought to adore and worship? Why tear you my eyes in yours? Why pull you your hoary hairs? Why knock

you your breasts for me? Now you see the reward of my excellent beauty; now, now, you perceive, but too late, the plague of envy. When the people did honour me and call me New Venus, then you should have wept—then you should have sorrowed, as though I had been then dead. For now I see and perceive that I am come to this misery by the only name of Venus. Bring me, and as fortune hath appointed, place me on the top of the rock: I greatly desire to end my marriage; I greatly covet to see my husband. Why do I delay? Why should I refuse him that is appointed to destroy all the world?"

Thus ended she her words, and thrust herself amongst the people that followed. Then they brought her to the appointed rock of the high hill, and set her thereon, and so departed. The torches and lights were put out with the tears of the people; and, every man gone home, the miserable parents, well-nigh consumed with sorrow, gave themselves to everlasting darkness.

Thus poor Psyche, being left alone weeping and trembling on the top of the rock, was blown by the gentle air and of shrilling Zephyrus, and carried from the hill with a meek wind, which retained her garments up, and by little and little brought her down into a deep valley, where she was laid in a bed of most sweet and fragrant flowers.

Thus fair Psyche, being sweetly couched amongst the soft and tender herbs as in a bed of sote and fragrant flowers, and having qualified the troubles and thoughts of her restless mind, was now well reposed.

And when she had refreshed herself sufficiently with sleep, she rose with a more quiet and pacified mind, and fortune to espy a pleasant wood environed with great and mighty trees.

She espied likewise a running river as clear as crystal: in the midst of the wood, well-nigh at the fall of the river, was a princely edifice, wrought and builded not by the art or hand of man but by the mighty power of God; and you would judge at the first entry therein that it were some pleasant and worthy mansion for the powers of heaven. For the embowings above were of cytern and ivory, propped and un-

dermined with pillars of gold; the walls covered and seeled with silver; divers sorts of beasts were graven and carved, that seemed to encounter with such as entered in: all things were so curiously and finely wrought that it seemed either to be the work of some demi-god or God himself.

The pavement was all of precious stone, divided and cut one from another, whereon was carved divers kinds of pictures in such sort that blessed and thrice blessed were they which might go upon such a pavement; every part and angle of the house was so well adorned that, by reason of the precious stones and inestimable treasure there, it glittered and shone in such sort that the chambers, porches and doors, gave light as it had been the sun.

Neither otherwise did the other treasure of the house disagree unto so great a majesty, that verily it seemed in every point a heavenly palace fabricate and builded for Jupiter himself.

Then Psyche, moved with delectation, approached nigh, and taking a bold heart entered into the house, and beheld everything there with great affection; she saw storehouses wrought exceeding fine and replenished with abundance of riches. Finally there could nothing be devised which lacked there; but amongst such great store of treasure this was more marvellous, that there was no closure, bolt, nor lock, to keep the same.

And when with great pleasure she viewed all these things, she heard a voice without any body that said:

“Why do you marvel, madame, at so great riches? Behold all that you see is at your commandment: wherefore go you into the chamber and repose yourself upon the bed, and desire what bath you will have; and we whose voices you hear be your servants and ready to minister unto you according to your desire. In the mean season royal meats and dainty dishes shall be prepared for you.”

Then Psyche perceived the felicity of divine providence, and, according to the advertisement of the incorporal voices, she first reposed herself upon the bed, and then refreshed her body in the bains. This done, she saw the table garnished with meats, and a chair to sit down.

When Psyche was set down, all sorts of divine meats and wines were brought in, not by anybody but as it were with a wind, for she could see no person before her, but only hear voices on every side.

After that all the services were brought to the table, one came in and sang invisibly, another played the harp, but she saw no man. The harmony of the instruments did so greatly thrill in her ears that, though there were no manner of person, yet seemed she in the midst of a multitude of people.

All these pleasures finished, when night approached Psyche went to bed; and when she was laid that the sweet sleep came upon her, she greatly feared, because she was alone: then came her unknown husband; and in the morning he rose before day, and departed.

Soon after came her invisible servants, presenting such things as were necessary. And thus she passed forth a great while; and as it happened the novelty of the things by continual custom did increase her pleasure, but specially the sound of the instruments was a comfort unto her being alone.

During this time that Psyche was in this place or pleasures her father and mother did nothing but weep and lament, and her two sisters, hearing of her most miserable fortune, came with great dolour and sorrow to comfort and speak with their parents.

The night following Psyche's husband spake unto her (for she might feel his eyes, his hands, and his ears), and said:

"O my sweet spouse and dear wife, fortune doth menace unto thee imminent peril and danger, whereof I wish thee greatly to beware. For know thou that thy sisters, thinking thou art dead, be greatly troubled, and are come to the mountain by thy steps. Whose lamentations if thou fortune to hear, beware that thou do in no wise either make answer or look up towards them; for, if thou do, thou shalt purchase to me a great sorrow and to thyself utter destruction."

Psyche, hearing her husband, was contented to do all things as he commanded.

After that he was departed and the night passed away, Psyche lamented and cried all the day following, thinking

that now she was past all hope of comfort, in that she was closed within the walls of a prison, deprived of human conversation, and commanded not to aid or assist her sorrowful sisters, no, nor once to see them.

Thus she passed all the day in weeping, and went to bed at night without any refection of meat or bain.

Incontinently after came her husband, who, when he had embraced her sweetly, gan say:

"Is it thus that you perform your promise, my sweet wife? What do I find here? Pass you all the day and the night in weeping, and will you not cease in your husband's arms? Go to; do what you will; purchase your own destruction; and, when find it so, then remember my words and repent, but too late."

Then she desired her husband more and more, assuring him that she should die unless he would grant that she might see her sisters, whereby she might speak with them and comfort them; whereat at length he was contented, and moreover he willed that she should give them as much gold and jewels as she would.

But he gave her a further charge, saying:

"Beware that ye covet not, being moved by the pernicious counsel of your sisters, to see the shape of my person, lest by your curiosity you be deprived of so great and worthy estate."

Psyche being glad herewith rendered unto him most entire thanks, and said:

"Sweet husband, I had rather die than to be separate from you; for, whosoever you be, I love and retain you within my heart as if you were mine own spirit of Cupid himself; but I pray you grant this likewise, that you would command your servant Zephyrus to bring my sisters down into the valley as he brought me."

Wherewithal, she kissed him sweetly, and desired him gently to grant her request, calling him her spouse, her sweetheart, her joy, and her solace, whereby she enforced him to agree to her mind; and when morning came he departed away.

After long search made, the sisters of Psyche came unto

the hill where she was set on the rock, and cried with a loud voice in such sort that the stones answered again. And when they called their sister by her name, that their lamentable cries came unto her ears, she came forth, and said:

"Behold here is she for whom you weep; I pray you torment yourselves no more. Cease your weeping."

And by and by she commanded Zephyrus by the appointment of her husband to bring them down: neither did he delay, for with gentle blasts he retained them up, and laid them softly in the valley. I am not able to express the often embracing, kissing, and greeting, which was between them three; all sorrows and tears were then laid apart.

"Come in," quoth Psyche, "into our house, and refresh your afflicted minds with your sister."

After this she showed them the storehouses of treasure; she caused them to hear the voices which served her; the bairn was ready; the meats were brought in; and, when they had eaten and filled themselves with divine delicacies, they conceived great envy within their hearts, and one of them being very curious did demand what her husband was, of what state and who was the Lord of so precious a house; but Psyche, remembering the promise which she made to her husband, feigned that he was a young man of comely stature, with a flaxen beard, and had great delight in hunting in the hills and dales by. And lest by her long talk she should be found to trip or fail in her words, she filled their laps with gold, silver, and jewels, and commanded Zephyrus to carry them away.

When they were brought up to the mountain, they took their ways homeward to their own houses, and murmured with envy that they bare against Psyche, saying:

"Behold, cruel and contrary fortune, behold how we, born all of one parent, have divers destinies; but especially we that are the elder two, be married to strange husbands, made as handmaids, and as it were banished from our country and friends, whereas our youngest sister has so great abundance of treasure and gotten a God to her husband, who hath no skill how to use so great plenty of riches.

"Saw you not, sister, what was in the house, what great

store of jewels, what glittering robes, what gems, what gold we trod on? That if she have a husband according as she affirmeth, there is none that liveth this day more happy in all the world than she. And so it may come to pass that at length for the great affection and love which he may bear unto her, he may make her a Goddess; for, by Hercules, such was her countenance, so she behaved herself, that, as a Goddess, she had voices to serve her and the winds did obey her. But I, poor wretch, have first married a husband elder than my father, more bald than a coot, more weak than a child, and that locketh me up all day in the house."

Then said the other sister:

"And in faith I am married to a husband that hath the gout, twyfold, crooked, not courageous in paying my debt; I am fain to rub and mollify his stony fingers with divers sorts of oils, and to wrap them in plasters and salves, so that I soil my white and dainty hands with the corruption of filthy clouts, not using myself like a wife, but more like a servant.

"And you, my sister, seem likewise to be in bondage and servitude, wherefore I cannot abide to see our younger sister in such great felicity. Saw you not, I pray, how proudly and arrogantly she handled us even now, and how in vaunting herself she uttered her presumptuous mind; how she cast a little gold into our laps; and, being weary of our company, commanded that we should be borne and blown away? Verily I live not nor am a woman but I will deprive her of all her bliss.

"And if you, my sister, be so far bent as I, let us consult together and not utter our mind to any person, no, nor yet to our parents, nor tell that ever we saw her. For it sufficeth that we have seen her whom it repenteth to have seen.

"Neither let us declare her good fortune to our father nor to any other, since, as they seem not happy whose riches are unknown, so shall she know that she hath sisters, no abjects, but more worthier than she. But now let us go home to our husbands and poor houses, and, when we are better instructed, let us return to suppress her pride."

So this evil counsel pleased these two evil women, and they hid the treasure which Psyche gave them, and tore their

hair, renewing their false and forged tears. When their father and mother beheld them weep and lament still, they doubled their sorrows, and griefs; but, full of ire and forced with envy, they took their voyage homewards, devising the slaughter and destruction of their sister.

In the mean season the husband of Psyche did warn her again in the night with these words:

"Seest thou not," quoth he, "what peril and danger evil fortune doth threaten unto thee, whereof if thou take not good heed it will shortly come upon thee? For the unfaithful wretches do greatly endeavour to set their snares to catch thee, and their purpose is to make and persuade thee to behold my face, which if thou once fortune to see, as I have often told, thou shalt see no more.

"Wherefore if these naughty hags, armed with wicked minds, do chance to come again, as I think no otherwise but that they will, take heed that thou talk not with them, but simply suffer them to speak what they will.

"Howbeit if thou canst not restrain thyself, beware that thou have no communication of thy husband, nor answer a word if they fortune to question of me; so will we increase our stock, and our young and tender child, if thou conceal my secrets, shall be made an immortal god—otherwise a mortal creature."

Then Psyche was very glad that she should bring forth a divine babe, and very joyful in that she should be honoured as a mother.

But those pestilent and wicked furies, breathing out their serpentine poison, took shipping to bring their enterprise to pass. Then Psyche was warned again by her husband in this sort:

"Behold the last day, the extreme case, and the enemies of thy blood, hath armed themselves against us, pitched their camps, set their host in array, and are marching towards us, for now thy two sisters have drawn their swords and are ready to slay thee. Oh, with what force are we assailed this day!

"O sweet Psyche, I pray thee to take pity on thyself, of me; and deliver thy husband and this unborn infant from so

great a danger: and see not, neither hear, these cursed women, which are not worthy to be called thy sisters for their great hatred and breach of sisterly amity; for they will come, like sirens, to the mountain, and yield out their piteous and lamentable cries."

When Psyche had heard these words, she sighed sorrowfully, and said:

"O dear husband, this long time you have had experience and trial of my faith, and doubt you not but that I will persevere in the same; wherefore command your wind Zephyrus that he may do as he hath done before, to the intent that where you have charged me not to behold your venerable face, yet that I may comfort myself with the sight of my sisters.

"I pray you, by these beautiful hairs, by these round cheeks delicate and tender, by your pleasant hot breast, whose shape and face I shall learn at length by my child, grant the fruit of my desire; refresh your dear spouse Psyche with joy, who is bound and linked unto you for ever. I little esteem to see your visage and figure—little do I regard the night and darkness thereof, for you are my only light."

Her husband, being as it were enchanted with these words and compelled by violence of her often embracing, wiping away her tears with his hair, did yield unto his wife. And when morning came departed as he accustomed to do.

Now her sisters arrived on land, and never rested till they came to the rock, without visiting of their father and mother, and leaped down rashly from the hill themselves.

Then Zephyrus according to the divine commandment brought them down, though it were against his will, and laid them in the valley without any harm.

By and by they went into the palace of their sister without leave, and, when they had eftsoons embraced their prey and thanked her with flattering words for the treasure which she gave them, they said:

"O dear sister Psyche, know you that you are now no more a child, but a mother: O what great joy bear you unto us! What a comfort will it be unto all the house! How happy shall we be that shall see this infant nourished amongst so great plenty of treasure, that if he be like his parents, as

it is necessary he should, there is no doubt but a new Cupid shall be born."

By this kind of means they went about to win Psyche by little and little; but, because they were weary with travel, they sat them down in chairs; and, after that they had washed their bodies in bains, they went into a parlour, where all kind of meats were ready prepared.

Psyche commanded one to play with his harp; it was done. Then immediately others sang; others tuned their instruments; but no person was seen: by whose sweet harmony and modulation the sisters of Psyche were greatly delighted.

Howbeit the wickedness of these cursed women was nothing suppressed by the sweet noise of these instruments, but they settled themselves to work their treason against Psyche, demanding who was her husband, and of what parentage.

Then she, having forgotten by too much simplicity that which she had spoken before of her husband, invented a new answer, and said that her husband was of a great province, a marchant, and a man of middle age, having his beard interspersed with grey hairs, which when she had said, because she would have no further talk, she filled their laps full of gold and silver, and bid Zephyrus to bear them away.

In their return homeward they murmured with themselves, saying:

"How say you, sister, to so apparent a lie of Psyche's? For first she said that her husband was a young man of flourishing years and had a flaxen beard, and now she saith that it is half grey with age: what is he that in so short space can become so old? You shall find it no otherwise, my sister, but that either this cursed queen hath invented a great lie, or else that she never saw the shape of her husband.

"And if it be so, that she never saw him, then verily she is married to some God, and hath a young God in her bosom; but, if it be a divine babe and fortune to come to the ears of my mother (as God forbid it should), then may I go and hang myself; wherefore let us go to our parents, and with forged lies let us colour the matter."

After they were thus inflamed and had visited their parents, they returned again to the mountain, and by the aid of the wind Zephyrus were carried down into the valley; and, after they had strained their eyelids to enforce themselves to weep, they called unto Psyche in this sort:

“Thou, ignorant of so great evil, thinkest thyself sure and happy, and sittest at home nothing regarding thy peril, whereas we go about thy affairs, and are careful lest any harm should happen unto thee; for we are credibly informed, neither can we but utter it unto thee, that there is a great serpent full of deadly poison, with a ravenous and gaping throat, that visiteth thee every night.

“Remember the oracle of Apollo, who pronounced that thou shouldest be married to a dire and fierce serpent; and many of the inhabitants hereby, and such as hunt about in the country, affirm that they saw him yester-night returning from pasture and swimming over the river, whereby they do undoubtedly say that he will not pamper thee long with delicate meats, but, when the time of delivery shall approach, he will devour both thee and thy child.

“Wherefore advise thyself whether thou wilt agree unto us that are careful for thy safety, and so avoid the peril of death, and be contented to live with thy sisters, or whether thou wilt remain with the serpent, and in the end to be swallowed into the gulf of his body. And if it be so that thy solitary life, thy conversation with voices, this servile and dangerous pleasure, and the love of the serpent, do more delight thee, say not but that we have played the parts of natural sisters in warning thee.”

Then the poor simple miser Psyche was moved with the fear of so dreadful words, and, being amazed in her mind, did clean forget the admonitions of her husband and her own promises made unto him; and, throwing herself headlong into extreme misery, with a wan and sallow countenance, scantily uttering a third word, at length gan say in this sort:

“O my most dear sisters, I heartily thank you for your great kindness towards me, and I am now verily persuaded that they which you hear of have informed you of nothing but truth; for I never saw the shape of my husband, neither

know I from whence he came; only I hear his voice in the night: insomuch that I have an uncertain husband and one that loveth not the light of the day, which causeth me to suspect that he is a beast, as you affirm. Moreover I do greatly fear to see him, for he doth menace and threaten great evil unto me, if I should go about to spy and behold his shape. Wherefore, my loving sisters, if you have any wholesome remedy for your sister in danger, give it now presently."

Then they, opening the gates of their subtle minds, did put away all privy guile, and egged her forward in her fearful thoughts, persuading her to do as they would have her; whereupon one of them began and said:

"Because that we little esteem any peril or danger to save your life, we intend to show you the best way and mean as we may possibly do. Take a sharp razor and put it under the pillow of your bed, and see that you have ready a privy burning lamp with oil hid under some part of the hanging of the chamber; and, finely dissimulating the matter, when according to his custom he cometh to bed and sleepeth soundly, arise you secretly, and with your bare feet go and take your lamp, with the razor in your right hand, and with valiant force cut off the head of the poisonous serpent wherein we will aid and assist you; and, when by the death of him you shall be made salve, we will marry you to some comely man."

After they had thus inflamed the heart of their sister, fearing lest some danger might happen unto them by reason of their evil counsel, they were carried by the wind Zephyrus to the top of the mountain, and so they ran away and took shipping.

When Psyche was left alone (saving that she seemed not to be alone, being stirred by so many furies), she was in a tossing mind like the waves of the sea; and, although her will was obstinate and resisted to put in execution the counsel of her sisters, yet she was in doubtful and divers opinions touching her calamity. Sometime she would, sometime she would not; sometime she is bold, sometime she feareth; sometime she mistrusteth, sometimes she is moved; sometime she hateth the beast, sometime she loveth her husband:

but at length the night came, whenas she made preparation for her wicked intent.

Soon after her husband came, and when he had kissed and embraced her, he fell asleep.

Then Psyche (somewhat feeble in body and mind, yet moved by cruelty of fate) received boldness, and brought forth the lamp, and took the razor—so by her audacity she changed her kind.

But, when she took the lamp and came to the bedside, she saw the most meek and sweetest beast of all beasts, even fair Cupid couched fairly, at whose sight the very lamp increased his light for joy, and the razor turned his edge. But when Psyche saw so glorious a body, she greatly feared, and, amazed in mind, with a pale countenance, all trembling, fell on her knees, and thought to hide the razor, yea verily in her own heart, which she had undoubtedly done, had it not through fear of so great an enterprise fallen out of her hand.

And, when she saw and beheld the beauty of his divine visage, she was well recreated in her mind. She saw his hairs of gold that yielded out a sweet savour, his neck more white than milk, his purple cheeks, his hair hanging comely behind and before, the brightness whereof did darken the light of the lamp, his tender plume-feathers dispersed upon his shoulders like shining flowers and trembling hither and thither, and his other parts of his body so smooth and soft that it did not repent Venus to bear such a child.

At the bed's feet lay his bow, quiver, and arrows, that be the weapons of so great a God, which when Psyche did curiously behold, and, marvelling at the weapons of her husband, took one of the arrows out of the quiver, and pricked herself withal, wherewith she was so grievously wounded that the blood followed, and thereby of her own accord she added love upon love; then, more and more broiling in the love of Cupid, she embraced him and kissed him a thousand times fearing the measure of his sleep.

But, alas, while she was in this great joy, whether it were for envy or for desire to touch this amiable body likewise, there fell out a drop of burning oil from the lamp upon the right shoulder of the God. O rash and bold lamp, the vile

ministry of love, how darest thou be so bold as to burn the God of all fire, when he invented thee to the intent that all lovers might with more joy pass the nights in pleasure?

The God being burned in this sort and perceiving that promise and faith was broken, he fled away without utterance of any word from the eyes and hands of his most unhappy wife. But Psyche fortun'd to catch him, as he was rising, by the right thigh, and held him fast as he flew about in the air, until such time that, constrained by weariness, she let go, and fell down upon the ground.

But Cupid followed her down, and lighted upon the top of a cypress tree, and angrily spake unto her in this manner:

“O simple Psyche, consider with thyself how I, little regarding the commandment of my mother, who willed me that thou shouldst be married to a man of base and miserable condition, did come myself from heaven to love thee, and wounded my own body with my proper weapons to have thee to my spouse. And did I seem a beast unto thee that thou shouldst go about to cut off my head with a razor who loved thee so well? Did not I always give thee in charge? Did I not gently will thee to beware? But those cursed aiders and counsellors of thine shall be worthily rewarded for their pains. As for thee, thou shalt be sufficiently punished by my absence.”

When he had spoken these words, he took his flight into the air.

Then Psyche fell flat on the ground, and as long as she might see her husband she cast her eyes after him into the air, weeping and lamenting piteously; but, when he was gone out of her sight, she threw herself into the next running river, for the great anguish and dolour that she was in, for the lack of her husband.

Howbeit the water would not suffer her to be drowned, but took pity upon her, in the honour of Cupid which accustomed to broil and burn the river, and so threw her upon the bank amongst the herbs.

Then Pan, the rustical God, sitting on the riverside, embracing and teaching the Goddess Canna to tune her songs and pipes, by whom were feeding the young and tender goats,

after that he had perceived Psyche in so sorrowful case, not ignorant I know not by what means of her miserable estate, endeavoured to pacify her in this sort:

“O fair maid, I am a rustic and rude herdsman, howbeit by reason of my old age expert in many things; for, as far as I can learn by conjecture, which, according as wise men do term, is called divination, I perceive by your uncertain gait, your pale hue, your sobbing sighs, and your watery eyes, that you are greatly in love. Wherefore hearken to me, and go not about to slay yourself, nor weep not at all, but rather adore and worship the great God Cupid, and win him unto you by your gentle promise of service.”

When the God of Shepherds had spoken these words, she gave no answer, but made reverence unto him as to a God, and so departed.

After that Psyche had gone a little way, she fortunèd unawares to come to a city where the husband of one of her sisters did dwell; which, when Psyche did understand, she caused that her sister had knowledge of her coming, and so they met together, and after great embracing and salutation the sister of Psyche demanded the cause of her travel thither.

“Marry,” quoth she, “do not you remember the counsel that you gave me, whereby you would that I should kill the beast who under colour of my husband visited me every night? You shall understand that, as soon as I brought forth the lamp to see and behold his shape, I perceived that he was the son of Venus, even Cupid himself.

“Then I, being stricken with great pleasure and desirous to embrace him, could not thoroughly assuage my delight, but, alas! by evil chance the boiling oil of the lamp fortunèd to fall on his shoulder, which caused him to awake, who, seeing me armed with fire and weapon, gan say: ‘How darest thou be so bold as to do so great a mischief? Depart from me, and take such things as thou didst bring; for I will have thy sister (and named you) to my wife, and she shall be placed in my felicity.’ And by and by he commanded Zephyrus to carry me away from the bounds of his house.”

Psyche had scantily finished her tale but her sister, pierced with the prick of desire and wicked envy, ran home, and,

feigning to her husband that she had heard of the death of her parents, took shipping, and came to the mountain. And, although there blew a contrary wind, yet, being brought in a vain hope, she cried:

“O Cupid, take me, a more worthy wife, and thou Zephyrus bear down thy mistress!” and so she cast herself down headlong from the mountain; but she fell not into the valley neither alive nor dead, for all the members and parts of her body were torn amongst the rocks, whereby she was made a prey to the birds and wild beasts, as she worthily deserved.

Neither was the vengeance of the other delayed; for Psyche travelling in that country fortun'd to come to another city, where her other sister did dwell, to whom when she had declared all such things as she told to her first sister, she ran likewise unto the rock, and was slain in like sort.

Then Psyche travelled about in the country to seek her husband Cupid, but he was gotten into his mother's chamber, and there bewailed the sorrowful wound which he caught by the oil of the burning lamp.

Then the white bird, the Gull, which swimmeth on the waves of the water, flew towards the ocean sea, where she found Venus washing and bathing herself; to whom she declared that her son was burned and in danger of death; and moreover that it was a common bruit in the mouth of every person who spake evil of all the family of Venus that her son doth nothing but haunt wenches in the mountain, and she herself lasciviously used to riot in the sea, whereby they say that they are now become no more gracious, no more pleasant, no more gentle, but incivil, monstrous, and horrible; moreover the marriages are not for any amity, or for love of pro-creation, but full of envy, discord, and debate.

This the curious Gull did clatter in the ears of Venus, reprehending her son. But Venus began to cry, and said:

“What, hath my son gotten any love? I pray thee, gentle bird, that dost serve me so faithfully, tell me what she is and what is her name that hath troubled my son in such sort—whether she be any of the Nymphs, of the number of the Goddesses, of the company of the Muses, or of the ministry of my Graces?”

To whom the bird answered :

"Madame, I know not what she is, but this I know, that she is called Psyche."

Then Venus with indignation cried out :

"What, is it she, the usurper of my beauty, the vicar of my name? What, will he think that I was a bawd, by whose show he fell acquainted with the maid?"

And immediately she departed and went to her chamber, where she found her son wounded, as it was told unto her, whom when she beheld she cried out in this sort :

"Is this an honest thing? Is this honourable to thy parents? Is this reason, that thou hast violated and broken the commandment of thy mother and sovereign mistress? And, whereas thou shouldst have vexed my enemy with loathsome love, thou hast done contrary; for, being but of tender and unripe years, thou hast with too licentious appetite embraced my most mortal foe, to whom I shall be made a mother, and she a daughter.

"Thou presumest and thinkest, thou trifling boy, thou varlet and without all reverence, that thou art most worthy and excellent, and that I am not able by reason of mine age to have another son, which if I might have, thou shouldst well understand that I would bear a more worthier than thou.

"But to work thee a greater despite, I do determine to adopt one of my servants, and to give him these wings, this fire, this bow and these arrows, and all other furniture which I gave to thee not for this purpose, neither is anything given to thee of thy father for this intent; but first thou hast been evil brought up and instructed in thy youth: thou hast thy hands ready and sharp; thou hast often offended thy ancients, and especially me that am thy mother; thou hast pierced me with thy darts, thou contemnest me as a widow, neither dost thou regard thy valiant and invincible father; and to anger me more thou art amorous of wenches.

"But I will cause that thou shalt shortly repent thee, and that this marriage shall be dearly bought. To what a point am I now driven? What shall I do? Whither shall I go? How shall I repress this beast? Shall I ask aid of mine enemy Sobriety, whom I have often offended to engender thee? Or

shall I seek for counsel of every poor and rustic woman? No, no, yet had I rather die; howbeit I will not cease my vengeance; to her must I have recourse for help, and to none other—I mean to Sobriety, who may correct thee sharply, take away thy quiver, deprive thee of thine arrows, unbend thy bow, quench thy fire, and, which is more, subdue thy body with punishment; and when that I have rased and cut off this thy hair, which I have dressed with mine own hands and made to glitter like gold, and when I have clipped thy wings, which I myself have caused to burgen, then shall I think to have sufficiently revenged myself upon thee for the injury which thou hast done.”

When she had spoken these words, she departed in a great rage out of her chamber.

Immediately as she was going away came Juno and Ceres, demanding the cause of her anger. Then Venus made answer:

“Verily you are come to comfort my sorrow, but I pray you with all diligence to seek out one whose name is Psyche, who is a vagabond, and runneth about the countries, and, as I think, you are not ignorant of the bruit of my son Cupid and of his demeanour, which I am ashamed to declare.”

Then they, understanding and knowing the whole matter, endeavoured to mitigate the ire of Venus in this sort::

“What is the cause, madame, or how hath your son so offended, that you should so greatly accuse his love, and blame him by reason that he is amorous? And why should you seek the death of her whom he doth fancy?

“We most humbly entreat you to pardon his fault, if he have accorded to the mind of any maiden. What! Do not you know that he is a young man? Or have you forgotten of what years he is? Doth he seem always to you to be a child?

“You are his mother, and a kind woman—will you continually search out his dalliance? Will you blame his luxury? Will you bridle his love, and will you reprehend your own art and delights in him? What God or man is he that can endure that you should sow or disperse your seed of love in every place, and to make a restraint thereof within your

own doors. Certes, you will be the cause of the suppression of the public places of young dames."

In this sort these Goddesses endeavoured to pacify her mind, and to excuse Cupid with all their power, although he were absent, for fear of his darts and shafts of love.

But Venus would in no wise assuage her threat; but, thinking that they did but trifle and taunt at her injuries, she departed from them, and took her voyage towards the sea in all haste.

In the mean season Psyche hurled herself hither and thither, to seek for her husband; the rather because she thought that, if he would not be appeased with the sweet flattery of his wife, yet he would take mercy upon her at her servile and continual prayers. And, espying a church on the top of a high hill, she said:

"What can I tell whether my husband and master be there or no?"

Wherefore she went thitherward, and with great pain and travail, moved by hope, after that she climbed to the top of the mountain, she came to the temple, and went in: whereas, behold, she espied sheafs of corn lying on a heap, blades wreathed like garlands, and reeds of barley; moreover she saw hooks, scythes, sickles, and other instruments, to reap, but everything lay out of order and as it were cast in by the hands of labourers; which when Psyche saw, she gathered up, and put everything duly in order, thinking that she would not despise or condemn the Temples of any of the Gods, but rather get the favour and benevolence of them all.

By and by Ceres came in, and, beholding her busy and curious in her chapel, cried out afar off and said:

"O Psyche, needful of mercy, Venus searcheth for thee in every place to revenge herself and to punish thee grievously, but thou hast more mind to be here, and carest for nothing less than for thy safety."

Then Psyche fell on her knees before her, watering her feet with her tears, wiping the ground with her hair, and with great weeping and lamentation desired pardon, saying:

"O great and holy Goddess, I pray thee by thy plenteous and liberal right hand, by thy joyful ceremonies of harvest,

by the secrets of thy sacrifice, by the flying chariots of thy Dragons, by the tillage of the ground of Sicily which thou hast invented, by the marriage of Proserpina, by the diligent inquisition of thy daughter, and by the other secrets which are within the temple of Eleusis in the land of Athens, take pity on me thy servant Psyche, and let me hide myself a few days amongst these sheafs of corn until the ire of so great a Goddess be past, or until that I be refreshed of my great labour and travail."

Then answered Ceres:

"Verily, Psyche, I am greatly moved by thy prayers and tears, and desire with all my heart to aid thee; but, if I should suffer thee to be hidden here, I should incur the displeasure of my cousin, with whom I have made a treaty of peace and an ancient promise of amity: wherefore I advise thee to depart hence, and take it not in evil part in that I will not suffer thee to abide and remain within my temple."

Then Psyche, driven away contrary to her hope, was double afflicted with sorrow; and so she returned back again.

And, behold, she perceived afar off in a valley a temple standing within a forest, fair and curiously wrought; and, minding to overpass no place whither better hope did direct her and to the intent she would desire the pardon of every God, she approached nigh to the sacred doors, whereas she saw precious riches and vestments engraven with letters of gold, hanging upon branches of trees and the posts of the temple, testifying the name of the Goddess Juno, to whom they were dedicated.

Then she kneeled down upon her knees, and, embracing the altar with her hands and wiping her tears, gan pray in this sort:

"O dear spouse and sister of the great God Jupiter, which art adored and worshipped among the great temples of Samos, called upon by women with child, worshipped at high Carthage, because thou werest brought from heaven by the Lion, the rivers of the flood Inachus do celebrate thee and know that thou art the wife of the great God and Goddess of Goddesses. All the East part of the world hath thee in veneration; all the world calleth thee Lucina: I pray thee to be mine advocate

in my tribulations; deliver me from the great danger which pursueth me, and save me that am wearied with so long labours and sorrow, for I know that it is thou that succourest and helpest such women as are with child and in danger."

Then Juno, hearing the prayers of Psyche, appeared unto her in all her royalty, saying:

"Certes, Psyche, I would gladly help thee, but I am ashamed to do anything contrary to the will of my daughter-in-law Venus, whom always I have loved as mine own child; moreover I shall incur the danger of the law intituled *De servo corrupto*, whereby I am forbidden to retain any servant fugitive against the will of his master."

Then Psyche, cast off likewise by Juno, as without all hope of the recovery of her husband reasoned with herself in this sort:

"Now what comfort or remedy is left to my afflictions, whenas my prayers will nothing avail with the Goddesses? What shall I do? Whither shall I go? In what cave or darkness shall I hide myself to avoid the furor of Venus? Why do I not take a good heart and offer myself with humility unto her whose anger I have wrought? What do I know whether he whom I seek for be in the house of his mother or no?"

Thus being in doubt, poor Psyche prepared herself to her own danger, and devised how she might make her orison and prayer unto Venus.

After that Venus was weary with searching by sea and land for Psyche, she returned toward heaven, and commanded that one should prepare her chariot, which her husband Vulcan gave unto her by reason of marriage, so finely wrought that neither gold nor silver could be compared to the brightness thereof. Four white pigeons guided the chariot with great diligence, and, when Venus was entered in, a number of sparrows flew chirping about, making sign of joy, and all other kind of birds sang sweetly for showing the coming of the great Goddess: the clouds gave place, the heavens opened and received her joyfully, the birds that followed nothing

feared the eagles, hawks, and other ravenous fowl in the air.

Incontinently she went into the royal palace of the God Jupiter, and with proud and bold petition demanded the service of Mercury in certain of her affairs, whereunto Jupiter consented. Then with much joy she descended from Heaven with Mercury, and gave him an earnest charge to put in execution his words, saying:

“O my brother, born in Arcadia, thou knowest well that I (who am thy sister) did never enterprise to do anything without thy presence; thou knowest also how long I have sought for a girl and cannot find her, wherefore there resteth nothing else save that thou with thy trumpet do pronounce the reward to such as take her. See thou put in execution my commandment, and declare that whatsoever he be that retaineth her wittingly against my will shall not defend himself by any mean or excusation.”

Which when she had spoken, she delivered unto him a label wherein was contained the name of Psyche and the residue of his publication; which done, she departed away to her lodging.

By and by Mercury (not delaying the matter) proclaimed throughout all the world that whatsoever he were that could tell any tidings of a King's fugitive daughter, the servant of Venus, named Psyche, should bring word to Mercury, and for reward of his pains he should receive seven sweet cosses of Venus. After that Mercury had pronounced these things, every man was inflamed with desire to search out Psyche.

This proclamation was the cause that put away all doubt from Psyche, who was scantily come in sight of the house of Venus; but one of her servants called Custom came out, who espying Psyche cried with a loud voice:

“O wicked wench as thou art, now at length thou shalt know that thou hast a mistress above thee. What! dost thou make thyself ignorant as thou didst not understand what travail we have taken in searching for thee? I am glad that thou art come into my hands, thou art now in the gulf of Hell,

and shalt abide the pain and punishment of thy great contumacy."

And therewithal she took her by the hair, and brought her before the presence of the Goddess Venus.

When Venus espied her she began to laugh, and, as angry persons accustom to do, she shook her head and scratched her right ear, saying:

"O Goddess, Goddess, you are now come at length to visit your mother, or else to see your husband that is in danger of death by your means—be assured I will handle you like a daughter; where be my maidens Sorrow and Sadness?"

To whom, when they came, she delivered Psyche to be cruelly tormented: then they fulfilled the commandment of their mistress, and, after they had piteously scourged her with whips and rods, they presented her again before Venus. Then she began to laugh again, saying:

"Behold she thinketh that by reason of her unborn child to move me to pity, and to make me a grandmother. Am not I happy that in the flourishing time of all mine age shall be called a grandmother, and the son of a vile wench shall be accounted the nephew of Venus? Howbeit I am a fool to term him by the name of son, since as the marriage was made between unequal persons, in the fields without witnesses and not by the consent of their parents, wherefore the marriage is illegitimate, and the child that shall be born a bastard, if we fortune to suffer thee to live till thou be delivered."

When Venus had spoken these words she leaped upon the face of poor Psyche, and, tearing her apparel, took her violently by the hair, and dashed her head upon the ground. Then she took a great quantity of wheat, barley meal, poppy seed, peas, lentils, and beans, and mingled them all together on a heap, saying:

"Thou evil-favoured girl, thou seemest unable to get the grace of thy lover by no other means but only by diligent and painful service, wherefore I will prove what thou canst do; see that thou separate all these grains one from another, disposing them orderly in their quality, and let it be done before night."

When she had appointed this task unto Psyche, she departed to a great banquet that was prepared that day.

But Psyche went not about to dissever the grain, as being a thing impossible to be brought to pass by reason it lay so confusedly scattered; but, being astonished at the cruel commandment of Venus, sat still and said nothing.

Then the little pismire the Emmet, taking pity of her great difficulty and labour, cursing the cruelty of the wife of Jupiter and of so evil a mother, ran about hither and thither, and called to her all the ants of the country, saying:

"I pray you, my friends, ye quick sons of the ground, the mother of all things, take mercy on this poor maid espoused to Cupid who is in great danger of her person. I pray you help her with all diligence."

Incontinently one came after another dissevering and dividing the grain; and, after that they had put each kind of corn in order, they ran away again in all haste.

When night came, Venus returned home from the banquet well tipped with wine, smelling of balm, and crowned with garlands of roses, who, when she espied what Psyche had done, gan say:

"This is not the labour of thy hands, but rather of his that is amorous of thee."

Then she gave her a morsel of brown bread, and went to sleep.

In the mean season Cupid was closed fast in the most surest chamber of the house, partly because he should not hurt himself with wanton dalliance, and partly because he should not speak with his love: so these two lovers were divided one from another.

When night was passed, Venus called Psyche and said:

"Seest thou yonder forest that extendeth out in length with the river? There be great sheep shining like gold and kept by no manner of person: I command thee that thou go thither and bring me home some of the wool of their fleeces."

Psyche arose willingly, not to do her commandment but to throw herself headlong into the water to end her sorrow. Then a green reed, inspired by divine inspiration with a gracious tune and melody, gan say:

"O Psyche, I pray thee not to trouble or pollute my water with the death of thee, and yet beware that thou go not towards the terrible sheep of this coast, until such time as the heat of the sun be past; for, when the sun is in his force, then seem they most dreadful and furious with their sharp horns, their stony foreheads, and their gaping throats, wherewith they arm themselves to the danger of mankind; but until the midday is past and the heat assuaged, and until they have refreshed themselves in the river, thou mayst hide thyself here by me under this great plane tree; and, as soon as their great fury is past, thou mayst go among the thickets and bushes under the woodside, and gather the locks of their golden fleeces which thou shalt find hanging upon the briars."

Thus spake the gentle and benign reed, showing a mean to Psyche to save her life, which she bare well in memory, and with all diligence went and gathered up such locks as she found, and put them in her apron, and carried them home to Venus: howbeit the danger of this second labour did not please her, nor give her sufficient witness of the good service of Psyche, but with a sour resemblance of laughter, she said:

"Of certainty I know that this is not thy fact, but I will prove if thou be of so stout a courage and singular prudence as thou seemest."

Then Venus spake unto Psyche again, saying:

"Seest thou the top of yonder great hill from whence there runneth down water of black and deadly colour which nourisheth the floods of Styx and Cocytus? I charge thee to go thither and bring me a vessel of that water."

Wherewithal she gave her a bottle of crystal, menacing and threatening her rigorously.

Then poor Psyche went in all haste to the top of the mountain, rather to end her life than to fetch any water; and, when she was come up to the ridge of the hill, she perceived that it was impossible to bring it to pass, for she saw a great rock gushing out most horrible fountains of waters, which ran down and fell by many stops and passages into the valley beneath.

On each side she saw great dragons stretching out their long and bloody necks that never slept, but appointed to keep

the river there; the waters seemed to themselves likewise saying:

"Away, away! what wilt thou do? Fly, fly, or else thou wilt be slain."

Then Psyche, seeing the impossibility of this affair, stood still as though she were transformed into stone; and, although she was present in body, yet was she absent in spirit and sense by reason of the great peril which she saw; in so much that she could not comfort herself with weeping, such was the present danger she was in.

But the royal bird of great Jupiter, the Eagle, remembering his old service which he had done whenas by the prick of Cupid he brought up the boy Ganymede to the heavens to be made the butler of Jupiter, and minding to show the like service in the person of the wife of Cupid, came from the high house of the skies, and said unto Psyche:

"O simple woman without all experience, dost thou think to get or dip up any drop of this dreadful water? No, no! assure thyself that thou art never able to come nigh it, for the Gods themselves do greatly fear at the sight thereof. What! have you not heard that it is a custom among men to swear by the puissance of the Gods: And the Gods do swear by the majesty of the river Styx? But give me thy bottle."

And suddenly he took it and filled it with the water of the river, and, taking his flight through those cruel and horrible dragons, brought it unto Psyche, who, being very joyful thereof, presented it to Venus, who would not be appeased, but menacing more and more said:

"What! thou seemest unto me a very witch and enchantress that bringest these things to pass; howbeit thou shalt do one thing more. Take this box and go to Hell to Proserpina, and desire her to send me a little of her beauty, as much as will serve me the space of one day, and say that such as I had is consumed away since my son fell sick; but return again quickly, for I must dress myself therewithal and go to the theatre of the Gods."

Then poor Psyche perceived the end of all her fortune, thinking verily that she should never return, and not without

cause, as she was compelled to go to the gulf and furies of Hell.

Wherefore without any further delay she went up to a high tower to throw herself down headlong, thinking that it was the next and readiest way to Hell, but the Tower, as inspired, spake unto her, saying:

“O poor miser, why goest thou about to slay thyself? Why dost thou rashly yield unto thy last peril and danger? Know thou that, if thy spirit be once separate from thy body, thou shalt surely go to Hell, but never to return again; wherefore hearken to me. Lacedaemon, a city of Greece, is not far hence.

“Go thou thither and inquire for the hill Tænarus, whereas thou shalt find a hole leading to Hell, even to the palace of Pluto; but take heed that thou go not with empty hands to that place of darkness, but carry two sops sodden in the flour of barley and honey in thy hands, and two half-pence in thy mouth; and, when thou hast passed a good part of that way, thou shalt see a lame Ass carrying of wood, and a lame fellow driving him who will desire thee to give him up the sticks that fall down; but pass thou on and do nothing: by and by thou shalt come unto the river of Hell, whereas Charon is ferryman, who will first have his fare paid him before he will carry the souls over the river in his boat. Whereby you may see that avarice reigneth amongst the dead; neither Charon nor Pluto will do anything for naught. For, if it be a poor man that would pass over and lacketh money, he shall be compelled to die in his journey before they will show him any relief.

“Wherefore deliver to carrion Charon one of the half-pence which thou bearest for thy passage, and let him receive it out of thy mouth. And it shall come to pass as thou sittest in the boat thou shalt see an old man swimming on the top of the river holding up his deadly hands and desiring thee to receive him into the bark, but have no regard to his piteous cry. When thou art passed over the flood, thou shalt espy old women spinning who will desire thee to help them, but beware thou do not consent unto them in any case, for these and like habits and traps will Venus set to make thee let fall

one of thy sops; and think not that the keeping of thy sops is a light matter, for if thou lose one of them thou shalt be assured never to return again to this world.

“Then thou shalt see a great and marvellous dog with three heads, barking continually at the souls of such as enter in; by reason he can do them no other harm, he lieth day and night before the gate of Proserpina and keepeth the house of Pluto with great diligence, to whom if thou cast one of thy sops thou mayest have access to Proserpina without all danger. She will make you good cheer, and entertain thee with delicate meat and drink; but sit thou upon the ground and desire brown bread, and then declare thy message unto her; and, when thou hast received such beauty as she giveth, in thy return appease the rage of the dog with thy other sop, and give thy other halfpenny to covetous Charon, and come the same way again into the world as thou wentest.

“But above all things have a regard that thou look not in the box, neither be not too curious about the treasure of the divine beauty.”

In this manner the Tower spake unto Psyche, and advertized her what she should do; and immediately she took two halfpence, two sops, and all things necessary, and went to the mountain Tænarus to go towards Hell.

After that Psyche had passed by the lame ass, paid her halfpenny for passage, neglected the old man in the river, denied to help the women's spinning, and filled the ravenous mouth of the dog with a sop, she came to the chamber of Proserpina.

There Psyche would not sit in any royal seat, nor eat any delicate meats; but, kneeling at the feet of Proserpina, only contented with coarse bread, declared her message; and, after she had received a mystical secret in the box, she departed, and stopped the mouth of the dog with the other sop, and paid the boatman the other halfpenny.

When Psyche was returned from Hell to the light of the world, she was ravished with great desire, saying:

“Am not I a fool that, knowing that I carry here the divine beauty, will not take a little thereof to garnish my face, to please my lover withal?”

And by and by she opened the box, where she could perceive no beauty nor anything else, save only an infernal and deadly sleep, which immediately invaded all her members, as soon as the box was uncovered, in such sort that she fell down on the ground and lay there as a sleeping corpse.

But Cupid, being now healed of his wound and malady, not able to endure the absence of Psyche, got him secretly out at a window of the chamber where he was enclosed, and receiving his wings, took his flight towards his loving wife; whom when he had found he wiped away sleep from her face, and put it again into the box, and awaked her with the tip of one of his arrows, saying:

“O wretched caitiff, behold thou werest well-nigh perished again with thy overmuch curiosity; well, go thou, and do thy message to my mother, and in the mean season I will provide for all things accordingly.”

Wherewithal he took his flight into the air, and Psyche brought her present to Venus.

Cupid being more and more in love with Psyche, and fearing the displeasure of his mother, did pierce into the heavens, and arrived before Jupiter to declare his cause.

Then Jupiter, after that he had eftsoons embraced him, gan say in this manner:

“O my well-beloved son, although thou hast not given due reverence and honour unto me as thou oughtest to do, but hast rather soiled and wounded this my breast, whereby the laws and order of the elements and planets be disposed with continual assaults of terrene luxury and against all laws and the discipline Julia and the utility of the public weal, in transforming my divine beauty into serpents, fire, savage beasts, birds, and bulls.

“Howbeit, remembering my modesty and that I have nourished thee with mine own proper hands, I will do and accomplish all thy desire, so that thou canst beware of spiteful and envious persons. And, if there be any excellent maiden of comely beauty in the world, remember yet the benefit which I shall show unto thee by recompense of her love towards me again.”

When he had spoken these words, he commanded

Mercury to call all the Gods to council, and if any of the celestial powers did fail of appearance he should be condemned in ten thousand pounds; which sentence was such a terror unto all the Gods that the high theatre was replenished, and Jupiter began to speak in this sort:

“O ye Gods, registered in the books of the Muses, you all know this young man Cupid, whom I have nourished with mine own hands, whose raging flames of his first youth I thought best to bridle and restrain. It sufficeth in that he is defamed in every place for his riotous living, wherefore all occasion ought to be taken away by means of marriage: he hath chosen a maiden that fancieth him well; let him have her still and possess her according to his own pleasure.”

Then he returned to Venus, and said:

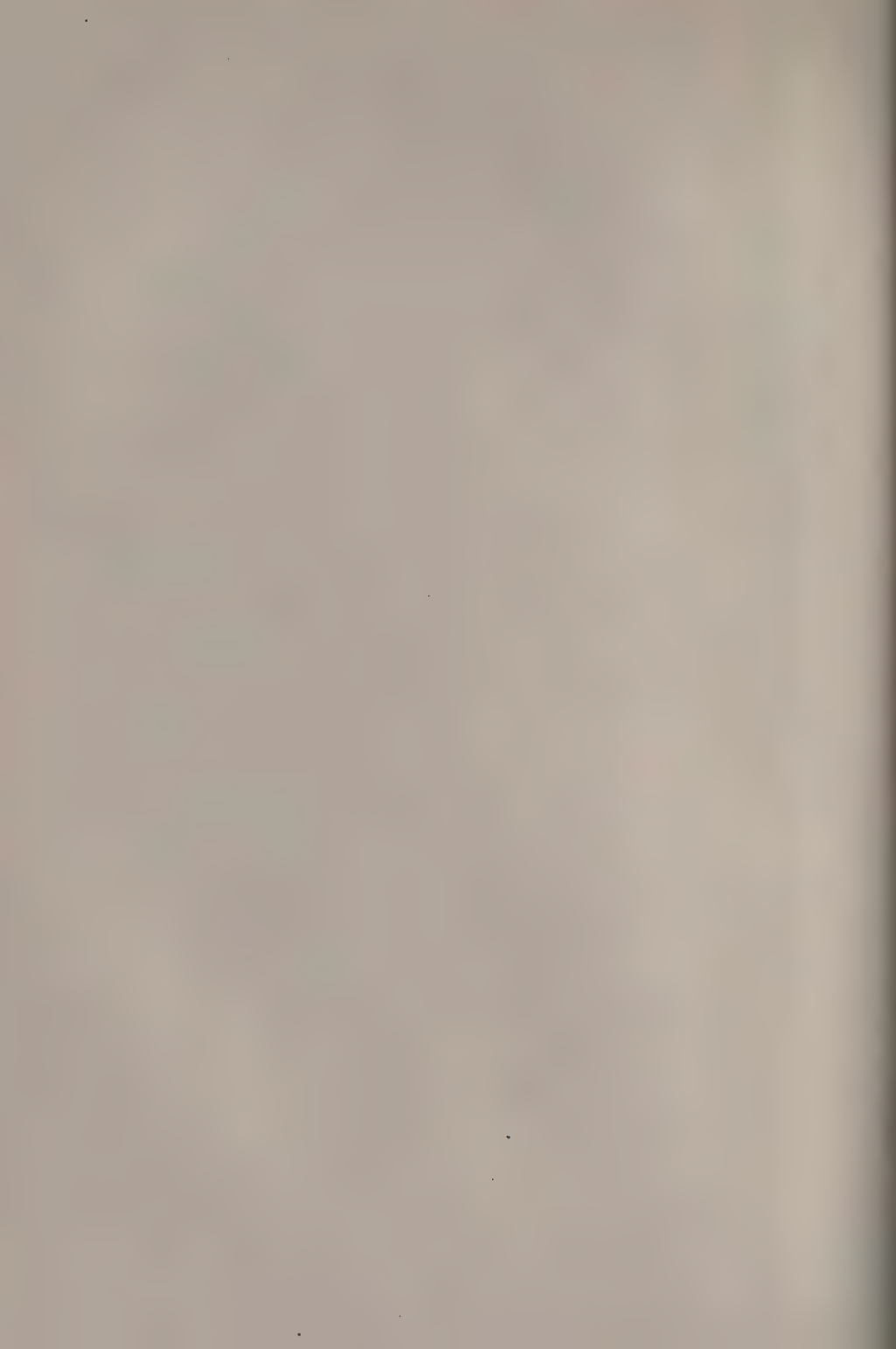
“And you, my daughter, take you no care, neither fear the dishonour of your progeny and estate, neither have regard in that it is a mortal marriage, for it seemeth unto me just, lawful, and legitimate by the law civil.”

Incontinently after, Jupiter commanded Mercury to bring up Psyche, the spouse of Cupid, into the palace of heaven. And then he took a pot of immortality, and said:

“Hold, Psyche, and drink to the end thou mayst be immortal, and that Cupid may be thine everlasting husband.”

By and by the great banquet and marriage-feast was sumptuously prepared. Cupid sat down with his dear spouse between his arms; Juno likewise with Jupiter; and all the other Gods in order. Ganymede filled the pot of Jupiter, and Bacchus served the rest.

Their drink was nectar, the wine of the Gods. Vulcan prepared supper, the Hours decked up the house with roses and other sweet smells, the Graces threw about balm, the Muses sang with sweet harmony, Apollo tuned pleasantly to the harp, Venus danced finely, Satyr and Pan played on their pipes; and thus Psyche was married to Cupid, and after she was delivered of a child, whom we call Pleasure.



CORNELIUS NEPOS

THE LIVES OF

HAMILCAR, HANNIBAL
MARCUS PORCIUS CATO

TRANSLATED BY THE

REV. JOHN SELBY WATSON, M.A.

WITH AN INTRODUCTION
BY THE SAME

INTRODUCTION

THE LIFE AND WRITINGS OF CORNELIUS NEPOS

CORNELIUS NEPOS is generally supposed to have been born at Hostilia, a village in the neighbourhood of Verona, a town included in Cisalpine Gaul. Hence Ausonius, speaking of Catullus's dedication of his poems to Cornelius Nepos, says that Gaul supplied the personage to whom the dedication was addressed.

He enjoyed the intimate friendship, not only of Catullus, but of Cicero and Atticus. In Eusebius's *Chronicon* he is placed in the fourth year of the reign of Augustus, which Vossius supposed to be the time when he first began to attract attention by his writings. Pliny says that he died in the reign of Augustus. No other particulars concerning his personal history have reached us.

From various passages in ancient authors we find that he wrote the following works:

1. *Chronica*, to which Catullus appears to allude in his dedication to Nepos:—

Ausus es unus Italorum
Omne ævum tribus explicare chartis,
Doctis, Jupiter! et laboriosis.

[Thou alone of Italians hast ventured to show forth every age in thy three charts—charts, O Jove, how learned and painstaking!]

Ausonius also mentions the work in his sixteenth Epistle, to Probus, and Aulus Gellius in the twenty-first chapter of his seventeenth book. The *tres chartæ* of Catullus are supposed to indicate that the work was in three books.

2. *Exemplorum libri* [Book of Examples], of which Charisius cites the second book, and Aulus Gellius the fifth.

It is thought to have been a work of the same nature as the subsequent compilation of Valerius Maximus.

3. *De Viris Illustribus* [Famous Men], from which Gellius gives an anecdote respecting Cato. But this may be merely another designation of the preceding work, or of the Lives.

4. *De Vitâ Ciceronis* [Life of Cicero], of which Gellius corrects an error in the first book, respecting the age at which Cicero pleaded his first cause.

5. *Epistolæ ad Ciceronem* [Letters to Cicero]. Lactantius gives an extract from one of them. But it is not certain that they were ever published in a volume by themselves.

6. The younger Pliny, in one of his epistles, speaks of verses made by Cornelius Nepos, but it is equally uncertain whether they were a separate publication.

7. A work *De Historicis* [Historians], mentioned in the third chapter of the Life of Dion.

8. A larger Life of Cato, which is mentioned at the end of the existing short Life, as having been written at the request of Atticus; but this may have been included in one of the collections above mentioned. In the *Guelferbytanus Codex*, indeed, the shorter Life is said to be extracted *E libro Cornelii Nepotis de Latinis Historicis*.

9. The *Excellentium Imperatorum Vitæ* [Lives of Great Emperors] appeared in the reign of Theodosius I. as the work of Æmilius Probus, a grammarian, who presented it to that emperor with a dedication in bad Latin verse, in which he openly claims to himself the authorship of it. He says that the work was the joint production of his mother [or father], his grandfather, and himself. The first edition accordingly, and some subsequent editions, containing the first twenty-three lives, from Miltiades to Hannibal, with the dedication to Atticus prefixed, were published in the name of Æmilius Probus, and nobody seems at first to have doubted that they were produced as stated in the verses. But suspicions could not but at length arise. Who was the Atticus to whom the preface was addressed? Or why should Probus have addressed his preface to Atticus, and not to Theodosius to whom he dedicated the book? Atticus is also mentioned

in the Life of Hannibal as being dead, and having left writings; was this the same Atticus, addressed as living in the preface, and spoken of as dead in the body of the work?

At length Peter Cornerus discovered, in a manuscript containing Cicero's Letters to Atticus, the biographies of Cato and Atticus, and added them to the other Lives, publishing them all under the name of Æmilius Probus, in defiance of internal evidence, as the writer of those pieces speaks of himself as a contemporary and friend of Atticus; and in defiance also of the inscription at the head of the manuscript, which declared them to be *E libro posteriore Cornelii Nepotis* [From the later book of Cornelius Nepos].

At last Dionysius Lambinus, undertaking an edition in 1569, affixed to it a dissertation and commentary, in which he endeavoured to prove that the Lives, exhibiting matter and style greatly at variance with the age of Theodosius, were not the production of Æmilius Probus, but wholly Nepos's own. The authority of Lambinus was such, that none ventured to question his decision, until Barthius, observing that there were certain solecisms and other peculiarities in the Lives which forbade them to be attributed entirely to a writer of the Augustan age, suggested that they were partly the work of Nepos and partly that of Probus, Probus having probably abridged the original performances, and introduced occasionally some matter and phraseology of his own. This supposition will account for the strange observations in the Preface, and in the Life of Epaminondas, on the manners of the Greeks, and for many of the inaccuracies, singular constructions, and abruptnesses of transition, of which it cannot be supposed that such a writer as Cornelius Nepos would have been guilty.

This opinion has now been adopted by most critics. The chief historical inaccuracies in the lives are briefly but judiciously noticed by Mr. Barker in his edition of Lempriere.

That the Life of Atticus is wholly the work of Cornelius Nepos, has been generally acknowledged. As to the Life of Cato, it may have been first abridged by Nepos himself, and afterwards again by Probus. If Nepos wrote a dedication to Atticus, as we may suppose that he did, and was also the author of the Life of Hannibal, we must conclude that that Life

was not contained in the first edition of the work, but was added to it after Atticus's death.

Of the biography of Atticus, part was published while Atticus was alive, and part after his decease.

From the conclusion of the *Life of Hannibal*, it appears that Nepos intended also to write biographies of eminent Roman commanders, that their actions might be compared with those of the Greeks. Whether this work was completed, we have no means of knowing, but from some passages of Plutarch, who cites Nepos for facts in the *Lives of Lucullus and Marcellus*, we may suppose that at least some part of it was written.

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NEPOS

LIFE OF HAMILCAR

HAMILCAR the Carthaginian, the son of Hannibal,¹ and surnamed Barcas, began in the first Punic war, but towards the end of it, to hold the command of the army in Sicily; and though, before his coming, the efforts of the Carthaginians were unsuccessful both by sea and land, he, after he arrived, never gave way to the enemy,² or afforded them any opportunity of doing him harm, but, on the contrary, often attacked the foe when occasion presented itself, and always came off with the advantage. Afterwards, though the Carthaginians had lost almost every place in Sicily, he so ably defended Eryx,³ that there seemed to be no war going on there. In the meantime, the Carthaginians, having been defeated at sea, near the islands called Ægates,⁴ by Caius Lutatius, the Roman consul, resolved on putting an end to the war, and left the settlement of the matter to the judgment of Hamilcar, who, though he ardently desired to continue in arms, thought it, nevertheless, necessary to submit to make peace, because he saw that his country, exhausted by the expenses of the war, was no longer in a condition to bear the pressure of it; but such was his feeling on the occasion, that he soon meditated, if the affairs of his country should be but in a small degree improved, to resume the war, and to pursue the Romans with hostilities, until they should indisputably obtain the mastery, or, being conquered, should make submission. With this resolution he concluded a peace, but showed such a spirit in

¹ Hannibal the Second.

² Not exactly true; but he doubtless resisted the enemy vigorously.

³ Not the mountain, but the town situated between the top and the foot of the mountain, of both of which the Romans had possession.

⁴ Three islands on the western coast of Sicily. This battle brought the first Punic war to an end.

the transaction, that when Catulus refused to desist from hostilities unless Hamilcar, with such of his men as were in possession of Eryx, should lay down their arms and quit Sicily, Hamilcar replied, that, though his country submitted, he himself would rather perish on the spot than return home under such disgrace, for that it was not consistent with his spirit to resign to his enemies arms which he had received from his country as a defence against enemies.

Catulus yielded to his resolution. But Hamilcar, when he arrived at Carthage, found the republic in a far different condition than he had expected; for, through the long continuance of foreign troubles, so violent a rebellion had broken out at home, that Carthage was never in such danger, except when it was actually destroyed. In the first place, the mercenary troops, who had served against the Romans, and the number of whom amounted to twenty thousand, revolted; and these drew the whole of Africa over to their side, and laid siege to Carthage itself. With these disasters the Carthaginians were so much alarmed, that they requested aid even from the Romans, and obtained it. But at last, when they were almost sunk into despair, they made Hamilcar general, who not only repulsed the enemy from the walls of Carthage, though they amounted to a hundred thousand men in arms, but reduced them to such a condition, that, being shut up in a confined space, they perished in greater numbers by famine than by the sword. All the towns that had revolted, and among them Utica and Hippo, the strongest cities of all Africa, he brought back to their allegiance to his country. Nor was he satisfied with these successes, but extended even the bounds of the Carthaginian empire, and re-established such tranquillity through all Africa, that there seemed to have been no war in it for many years.

These objects being executed according to his desire, he then, by dint of a spirit confident and incensed against the Romans, contrived, in order more easily to find a pretext for going to war with them, to be sent as commander-in-chief with an army into Spain, and took with him thither his son Hannibal, then nine years old. There also accompanied him a young man named Hasdrubal, a person of high birth and

great beauty, who, as some said, was beloved by Hamilcar with less regard to his character than was becoming; for so great a man could not fail to have slanderers. Hence it happened that Hasdrubal was forbidden by the censor of public morals to associate with him; but Hamilcar then gave him his daughter in marriage, because, according to their usages, a son-in-law could not be interdicted the society of his father-in-law. We have inserted this notice of Hasdrubal, because, after Hamilcar was killed, he took the command of the army, and achieved great exploits; and he was also the first that corrupted the ancient manners of the Carthaginians by bribery. After his death Hannibal received the command from the army.

Hamilcar, however, after he had crossed the sea, and arrived in Spain, executed some great undertakings with excellent success; he subdued some very powerful and warlike nations, and supplied all Africa with horses, arms, men, and money. But as he was meditating to carry the war into Italy, in the ninth year after his arrival in Spain, he was killed in a battle with the Vettones.

His constant hatred to the Romans seems to have been the chief cause of producing the second Punic war; for Hannibal, his son, was so wrought upon by the continual instigations of his father, that he would have chosen to die rather than not make trial of the Romans.

NEPOS

LIFE OF HANNIBAL

HANNIBAL¹ was the son of Hamilcar, and a native of Carthage. If it be true, as no one doubts, that the Roman people excelled all other nations in warlike merit, it is not to be disputed that Hannibal surpassed other commanders in ability as much as the Romans surpassed all other people in valour; for as often as he engaged with the Romans in Italy, he always came off with the advantage; and, had not his efforts been paralyzed by the envy of his countrymen at home, he would appear to have been capable of getting the mastery over the Romans. But the jealous opposition of many prevailed against the ability of one. He, however, so cherished in his mind the hatred which his father had borne the Romans, and which was left him, as it were, by bequest, that he laid down his life before he would abate it; for even when he was exiled from his country, and stood in need of support from others, he never ceased in thought to make war with the Romans.

To say nothing of Philip,² whom he had rendered an enemy to the Romans, though at a distance from him, Antiochus was the most powerful of all kings at that period; and him he so inflamed with a desire for war, that he endeavoured to bring troops against Italy even from the Red Sea. As some ambassadors from Rome were sent to that prince, in order to gain information respecting his intentions, and to endeavour, by underhand contrivances, to render Hannibal an object of suspicion to the king (as if, being bribed by them, he entertained other sentiments than before); and as they were not unsuccessful in their attempts, and Hannibal became

¹ The third of that name.

² Son of Demetrius, and last king but one of Macedonia.

aware of that fact, and found himself excluded from the privy council, he went at a time appointed to the king himself, and, after having said much concerning his attachment to him and his hatred to the Romans, he added the following statement: "My father Hamilcar," said he, "when I was a very little boy, being not more than nine years old, offered sacrifices at Carthage, when he was going as commander into Spain, to Jupiter, the best and greatest of the gods; and while this religious ceremony was being performed, he asked me whether I should like to go with him to the camp. As I willingly expressed my consent, and proceeded to beg him not to hesitate to take me, he replied, 'I will do so, if you will give me the promise which I ask of you.' At the same time he led me to the altar at which he had begun to sacrifice, and, sending the rest of the company away, required me, taking hold of the altar, to swear that I would never be in friendship with the Romans. This oath, thus taken before my father, I have so strictly kept even to this day, that no man ought to doubt but that I shall be of the same mind for the rest of my life. If, therefore, you entertain any friendly thoughts towards the Romans, you will not act imprudently if you conceal them from me; but whenever you prepare war, you will disappoint yourself unless you constitute me leader in it."

At this age, accordingly, he accompanied his father into Spain. After his father's death, when Hasdrubal was made general-in-chief, he had the command of all the cavalry. When Hasdrubal also was killed, the army conferred upon him the supreme command, and this act, when reported at Carthage, received public approbation.

Hannibal being thus made commander-in-chief, at the age of five-and-twenty, subdued in war, during the next three years, all the nations of Spain, took Saguntum, a city in alliance with the Romans, by storm, and collected three vast armies, of which he sent one into Africa, left another with his brother Hasdrubal in Spain, and took the third with him into Italy. He made his way through the forests of the Pyrenees, he engaged, wherever he directed his course, with all the inhabitants of the country, and let none go unconquered. On arriving at the Alps, which separate Italy from Gaul, and

which no one had ever crossed with an army before him, (except Hercules the Greek, from which achievement the forest there is now called the Grecian forest), he cut to pieces the people of the Alps who endeavoured to prevent his passage, laid open those parts, made roads, and put things in such a state, that an elephant fully equipped could walk where previously one unarmed man could scarcely crawl. Along this tract he led his army, and arrived in Italy.

On the banks of the Rhone he engaged with the consul Publius Cornelius Scipio, and put him to flight. At the Po he fought with the same consul for the possession of Clastidium, and expelled him from that place wounded and defeated.¹ The same Scipio, with his colleague Tiberius Longus, came against him a third time at the Trebia; he came to battle with them, and put both of them to flight. He then passed through the country of the Ligurians over the chain of the Apennines, directing his course towards Etruria. During this march he was afflicted with so violent a distemper in his eyes, that he never had the use of his right eye so well afterwards. But even when he was troubled with this malady, and carried in a litter, he cut off Caius Flaminius the consul at the lake Trasimenus, being caught with his army in an ambush; and not long after he killed the prætor Caius Centenius, who was occupying the forest with a choice body of troops. He then proceeded into Apulia, where the two consuls, Caius Terentius Varro, and Paulus Æmilius, met him, both of whose armies he routed in one battle; the consul Paulus he killed, with several others of consular dignity, and among them Cnæus Servilius Geminus, who had been consul the year before.

After fighting this battle, he marched towards Rome, nobody opposing him, and halted on the hills near the city. When he had lain encamped there some days, and was turning back towards Capua, Quintus Fabius Maximus, the Roman dictator, threw himself in his way in the Falernian

¹No account of a battle between Hannibal and Scipio at Clastidium (a town of Gallia Cispadana, at no great distance from the Po), is found in any other author.

territory. Here, though enclosed in a confined space, he extricated himself without any loss to his army. He deceived Fabius, a most skilful commander; for, when night had come on, he set fire to some bundles of twigs, tied upon the horns of oxen, and drove forward a vast number of those cattle, scattering themselves hither and thither. By presenting this object suddenly to their view, he struck such terror into the army of the Romans, that nobody ventured to stir beyond the rampart. Not many days after this success, he put to flight Marcus Minucius Rufus, master of the horse, who was equal in power with the dictator, and who had been drawn into an engagement by a stratagem. While he was at a distance, too, he cut off Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, consul for the second time, in the country of the Lucanians, after he had been inveigled into an ambush.¹ In like manner he caused the death of Marcus Claudius Marcellus, consul for the fifth time, at Venusia. To enumerate his battles would occupy too much time; and this one observation, accordingly, (from which it will be understood how great a general he was), will be sufficient, that, as long as he continued in Italy, none made a stand against him in a regular engagement, none, after the battle of Cannæ, pitched a camp against him in the field.

Being recalled, without having suffered any defeat, to defend his country, he maintained a war with the son of that Publius Scipio whom he had routed first on the Rhone, and again on the Po, and a third time on the Trebia. As the resources of his country were now exhausted, he wished, by a treaty with him, to put a stop to the war for a time, in order that he might engage in it afterwards with greater vigour. He came to a conference with him, but the conditions were not agreed upon. A few days after this meeting, he came to battle with Scipio at Zama; and being defeated (incredible to relate!) he made his way to Adrumetum, which is about three hundred miles² from Zama, in two days and two nights. In the course of his retreat, some Numidians, who had left

¹ The battle was fought by one of Hannibal's generals in his absence.

² One hundred and fifty miles is supposed to be nearer the truth.

the field in his company, formed a conspiracy against him; however he not only escaped them, but deprived them of life. At Adrumetum he assembled those who had survived the defeat, and, with the aid of new levies, drew together, in a few days, a numerous force.

While he was most vigorously engaged in preparing for action, the Carthaginians made an end of the war by a treaty with the Romans. He had nevertheless afterwards the command of the army, and continued to act, as well as his brother Mago, in Africa, until the time when Publius Sulpicius and Caius Aurelius became consuls; for, during their term of office, ambassadors from Carthage went to Rome, to thank the Roman senate and people for having made peace with them, and to present them, on that account, with a crown of gold, requesting, at the same time, that their hostages might reside at Fregellæ,¹ and that their prisoners might be restored. An answer was made them, by a resolution of the senate, that "their present was acceptable and welcome, and that their hostages should live in the place which they desired, but that they would not restore the prisoners, because the Carthaginians retained Hannibal, by whose acts the war had been occasioned, and who was the bitterest of enemies to the name of Rome, in command of the army, as also his brother Mago." The Carthaginians, on hearing this answer, recalled Hannibal and Mago home. When he returned, he was made prætor,² in the two-and-twentieth year after he had been appointed king;³ for, as consuls are elected at Rome, so, at Carthage, two kings are annually chosen, retaining their office for a year. In that post Hannibal conducted himself with the same activity as he had exhibited in war; for he took care, not only that there should be money raised from new taxes, to be paid to the Romans according to the treaty, but that there should be a surplus to be deposited in the treasury.

¹ A town on the Liris, in the Volscian territory.

² This office seems, from what follows, to have been in a great degree financial; but judicial duties were probably combined in it.

³ The two annual magistrates at Carthage were called *suffetes* in the Punic tongue; the Greeks and Romans called them kings.

In the year after his prætorship, when Marcus Claudius and Lucius Furius were consuls, ambassadors from Rome came again to Carthage; and Hannibal, supposing that they were sent to demand that he should be delivered to the Romans, went secretly, before an audience of the senate was given them, on board a vessel, and fled into Syria to Antiochus. His departure being made public, the Carthaginians sent two ships to seize him, if they could overtake him. His property they confiscated; his house they razed to its foundations; and himself they declared an outlaw.

In the third year, however, after he had fled from home, and in the consulship of Lucius Cornelius and Quintus Minucius, Hannibal landed with five ships in Africa, on the coast of the Cyrenæans, to try if he could move the Carthaginians to war, by giving them hope and confidence in Antiochus, whom he had now persuaded to proceed with his forces to Italy. Thither he summoned his brother Mago; and, when the Carthaginians knew of the circumstances, they inflicted on Mago the same penalties as they had laid on his absent brother. When they had let loose their vessels, and sailed off, in despair of success, Hannibal went to join Antiochus. Of Mago's end two accounts have been given; for some have left on record that he perished by shipwreck, others that he was killed by his own slaves.

Antiochus, if he had been as ready to obey Hannibal's advice in conducting the war as he had resolved to be when he undertook it, might have fought for the empire of the world nearer the Tiber than Thermopylæ.¹ Hannibal, however, though he saw him attempt many things imprudently, left him in nothing unsupported. He took the command of a few ships, which he had been directed to bring from Syria into Asia, and with these he engaged the fleet of the Rhodians in the Pamphylian sea, and though his men were overpowered in the struggle by the number of the enemy, he had the advantage himself in the wing in which he acted.

After Antiochus was put to flight,² Hannibal, fearing

¹ Antiochus here suffered a defeat from the Romans.

² Viz., in the battle near Magnesia, at the bottom of Mount Sipylus in Lydia.

that he should be delivered to the Romans (an event which would doubtless have come to pass, if he had given the king an opportunity of securing him), went off to the people of Gortyn, in Crete, that he might there consider in what place he should settle himself. But, as he was the most perspicacious of all men, he saw that unless he took some precautions, he should be in great danger from the covetousness of the Cretans; for he carried with him a large sum of money, of which he knew that a report had gone abroad. He therefore adopted the following contrivance; he filled several pots with lead, covering the upper part with gold and silver, and deposited them, in the presence of the leading men, in the temple of Diana, pretending that he trusted his fortune to their honesty. Having thus deceived them, he filled the whole of some brazen statues, which he carried with him, with his money, and threw them down in an open place at his own residence. The Gortynians, meanwhile, guarded the temple with extreme care, not so much against others as against Hannibal himself, lest he should remove any thing without their knowledge, and carry it off with him.

The Carthaginian, having thus saved his property, and deceived all the Cretans, went into Pontus to Prusias, with whom he showed himself of the same mind as to Italy; for he did nothing but excite the king to arms, and animate him against the Romans, and seeing that he was not at all strong in domestic resources, he induced other princes to join him, and united warlike nations on his side. Eumenes, king of Pergamus, was at variance with Prusias, and war was maintained between them by sea and land, for which reason Hannibal was the more desirous that he should be crushed. Eumenes had the superiority on both elements, and Hannibal thought that, if he could but cut him off, his other projects would be easier of execution. To put an end to his life, therefore, he adopted the following stratagem. They were to engage by sea in a few days; Hannibal was inferior in number of vessels, and had to use art in the contest, as he was no match for his enemy in force. He accordingly ordered as many poisonous serpents as possible to be brought together alive, and to be put into earthen vessels, of which when he had

collected a large number, he called the officers of his ships together, on the day on which he was going to fight at sea, and directed them all to make an attack upon the single ship of King Eumenes, and to be content with simply defending themselves against others, as they might easily do with the aid of the vast number of serpents; adding that he would take care they should know in what ship Eumenes sailed, and promising that, if they took or killed him, it should be of great advantage to them.

After this exhortation was given to the soldiers, the fleets were brought out for action by both parties. When the line of each was formed, and before the signal was given for battle, Hannibal, in order to show his men where Eumenes was, despatched to him a letter-carrier in a boat with a herald's staff; who, when he reached the enemy's line of vessels, held out a letter and signified that he was looking for the king; he was therefore immediately taken to Eumenes, because nobody doubted that there was something written in the letter relating to peace. The messenger, having thus made the king's ship known to his party, returned to the same place from which he had come. Eumenes, on opening the letter, found nothing in it but what was meant to ridicule him; and though he wondered as to the motive of it, and none could be discovered, yet he did not hesitate to come at once to battle. In the conflict, the Bithynians, according to the direction of Hannibal, fell all at once upon the ship of Eumenes. That prince, as he was unable to withstand their onset, sought safety in flight, but would not have found it, had he not taken refuge behind his guards, which had been posted on the neighbouring shore. As the rest of the Pergamenian ships bore hard upon the enemy, the earthen pots, of which we have previously spoken, began suddenly to be hurled into them. These, when thrown, at first excited laughter among the combatants, nor could it be conceived why such a thing was done; but when they saw their ships filled with serpents, and, startled at the strangeness of the occurrence, knew not what to avoid first, they put about their ships and retreated to their camp upon the coast. Thus Hannibal, by his stratagem, prevailed over the force of the Pergame-

nians. Nor was this the only occasion; but often, at other times, he defeated the enemy with his troops on land, and with equally skilful management.

While these transactions were taking place in Asia, it happened accidentally at Rome that certain ambassadors from Prusias took supper at the house of Lucius Quintius Flamininus, one of the consuls; and there, as mention was made of Hannibal, one of them observed that he was in the dominions of Prusias. This information Flamininus communicated the next day to the senate. The conscript fathers, who thought that they would never be free from plots as long as Hannibal was alive, sent ambassadors to Bithynia, and among them Flamininus, to request the king not to keep their bitterest enemy with him, but to deliver him up to them. To this embassy Prusias did not dare to give a refusal; he made some opposition, however, to one point, begging them not to require of him what was contrary to the rights of hospitality, saying that they themselves might make Hannibal prisoner, if they could, as they would easily find out the place where he was. Hannibal indeed confined himself to one place, living in a fortress which had been given him by the king; and this he had so constructed that it had outlets on every side of the building, always fearing lest that should happen which eventually came to pass. When the Roman ambassadors had gone thither, and had surrounded his house with a number of men, a slave, looking out at a gate, told Hannibal that several armed men were to be seen, contrary to what was usual. Hannibal desired him to go round to all the gates of the castle, and bring him word immediately whether it was beset in the same way on all sides. The slave having soon reported how it was, and informed him, that all the passages were secured, he felt certain that it was no accidental occurrence, but that his person was menaced, and that his life was no longer to be preserved. That he might not part with it, however, at the pleasure of another, and dwelling on the remembrance of his past honours, he took poison, which he had been accustomed always to carry with him.

Thus this bravest of men, after having gone through many and various labours, found repose in the seventieth year

of his age. Under what consuls he died, is not agreed; for Atticus has left it recorded in his chronicle that he ended his life in the consulship of Marcus Claudius Marcellus and Quintus Fabius Labeo; but Polybius says in that of Lucius Æmilius Paullus and Cnæus Bæbius Tamphilus; and Sulpicius in that of Publius Cornelius Cethegus and Marcus Bæbius Tamphilus.

This great man, though occupied in such vast military operations, devoted some portion of his time to literature; for there are some books of his written in the Greek language, and amongst them one addressed to the Rhodians on the acts of Cnæus Manlius Vulso in Asia.

Of the wars which he conducted many have given the history; and two of them were persons that were with him in the camp, and lived with him as long as fortune allowed, Silenus and Sosilus the Lacedæmonian; and this Sosilus Hannibal had as his instructor in the Greek language.

But it is now time to make an end of this book, and to give an account of commanders among the Romans, that, when the actions of both are compared, it may be the better determined which generals deserve the preference.

NEPOS

LIFE OF MARCUS PORCIUS CATO¹

CATO, born in the municipal town of Tusculum,² resided, when a very young man, and before he turned his attention to the attainment of office, in the territory of the Sabines, because he had an estate there which had been left him by his father. It was at the persuasion of Lucius Valerius Flaccus, whom he had for a colleague in the consulate and censorship, that he removed, as Marcus Perperna Censorius was accustomed to relate, to Rome, and proceeded to employ himself in the forum. He served his first campaign at the age of seventeen, in the consulship of Quintus Fabius Maximus and Marcus Claudius Marcellus. He was military tribune in Sicily. When he returned from thence, he attached himself to the staff of Caius Claudius Nero, and his service was thought of great value in the battle near Sena, in which Hasdrubal, the brother of Hannibal, fell. As quæstor, he happened to be under the consul, Publius Cornelius Scipio Africanus, with whom he did not live according to the intimate connexion of his office; for he was at variance with him during his whole life. He was made ædile of the commons with Caius Helvius. As prætor he had the province of Sardinia, from which, when he was returning from Africa some time before in the character of quæstor, he had brought Quintus Ennius, the poet, an act which we value not less than the noblest triumph that Sardinia could have afforded.

He held the consulship with Lucius Valerius Flaccus, and had by lot Hither Spain for his province, from which he gained a triumph. As he stayed there a long time, Publius

¹ Cato the censor, the great grandfather of the Cato that killed himself at Utica.

² Situate about ten miles south-east of Rome, not far from the modern *Frascati*.

Scipio Africanus, when consul for the second time, wanted to remove him from his province, and to succeed him himself, but was unable, through the senate, to effect that object, even though he then possessed the greatest authority in the state; for the government was then conducted, not with regard for personal influence, but according to justice. Being displeased with the senate on this account, Scipio, after his consulship was ended, remained in the city as a private person.¹

Cato, being made censor with the Flaccus above mentioned, exercised that office with severity; for he inflicted penalties on many noblemen, and introduced many new regulations into his edict,² by means of which luxury, which was even then beginning to germinate, might be repressed. For about eighty years, from his youth to the end of his life, he never ceased to incur enmity in behalf of the commonwealth. Though attacked by many,³ he not only suffered no loss of character, but increased in reputation for virtue as long as he lived.

In all his pursuits he gave proofs of singular intelligence and industry; for he was a skilful agriculturist, well-informed in political affairs, experienced in the law, an eminent commander, a respectable orator. He was also much devoted to literature, and though he had entered on the study of it at an advanced age, yet he made such progress in it, that you could not easily discover anything, either in Grecian or Italian history, that was unknown to him. From his youth he composed speeches. In his old age he began to write his Histories, of which there are ten books. The first contains the acts of the kings of Rome; the second and third show from whence each Italian state had its rise, for which reason he seems to have called the whole body of them *Origines*; in the

¹ Plutarch, however, in his life of Cato, says that Scipio was appointed to succeed Cato in Spain, but that, being unable to procure from the senate a vote of censure on Cato's administration, he passed his term of office in inactivity.

² The code of regulations which a magistrate published on entering upon his office, adopting what he chose from the edicts of his predecessors, and adding what he thought proper of his own.

³ Plutarch, in his life of Cato, says that Cato was attacked or accused about fifty times in the course of his political life.

fourth is related the first Carthaginian war; in the fifth the second; and all these subjects are treated in a summary way. Other wars he has narrated in a similar manner, down to the prætorship of Lucius Galba, who spoiled the Lusitanians. The leaders in these wars, however, he has not named, but has stated the facts without the names. In the same books he has given an account of whatever seemed remarkable in Italy and Spain; and there are shown in them much labour and industry, and much learning.

Of his life and manners we have spoken more at large in the book which we wrote expressly concerning him at the request of Titus Pomponius Atticus; and we therefore refer those who would know Cato to that volume.¹

¹ This work has been lost.

THE HISTORIE OF
THE CÆSARS

EMPEROURS OF ROME

[JULIUS, AUGUSTUS, TIBERIUS, CALIGULA,
CLAUDIUS, NERO]

WRITTEN IN LATINE BY

C. SUETONIUS TRANQUILLUS

AND NEWLY TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH BY

PHILÊMON HOLLAND

DOCTOR IN PHYSICKE

TOGEATHER WITH ANNOTATIONS THERE-UPON

1606

WITH AN INTRODUCTION UPON

SUETONIUS, THE PAUL PRY OF HISTORY

By CHARLES WHIBLEY

INTRODUCTION

SUETONIUS, THE PAUL PRY OF HISTORY

BY CHARLES WHIBLEY

"ART," says M. Marcel Schwob in a luminous essay on Biography, "is opposed to general ideas; it desires only the unique;" or in other words, *il ne classe pas, il déclasse*, "it does not class, it declasses." Conquest does not set a peculiar stamp upon a man; intellect defies the resources of skilful portraiture. And these truths were ever present to Suetonius, who selected for his illustration the facts which the more princely historian rejects with scorn. His genius was a genius for anecdotage, and it is his love of scandal and intimate infirmities, which give a very pleasant life and energy to his immortal book. As we read the *Twelve Cæsars*, we forget that they were Emperors; we are persuaded at every line that they were men, and, maybe, monsters of iniquity. For to Suetonius the greatest hero was made of common (or of uncommon) clay; or at any rate he assumed the heroism as familiar, and explained with infinite pleasure and circumstance that Emperors are memorable for intrigue, infirmity, and crime. He was possessed, in truth, with the indefatigable curiosity of the modern journalist; nothing was sacred from his prying eye; and he gathered in his facts with the reporter's own superficial love of facts for their own sake, and without the slightest regard to their social or historical import.

Yet it is not for us to resent the shamelessness of his method. Many a vice is converted by the centuries into a shining virtue, and Paul Pry, an odious figure to-day, may appear to-morrow the fearless benefactor of posterity. Time has the trick of hallowing even gossip, and there is no detail so trivial and so impertinent but it appears interesting, nay

sacred, in the biography of a man long since dead. Thus we are constrained to admire in the past that which we deprecate in the present; and if the present eavesdroppers make conquest of immortality, our remote descendants will no doubt welcome their indiscretions as an invaluable commentary, though they too will deplore most strenuously their own contemporary gossips.

And there is a perfect logic in the apparent contradiction. We lose the habit of censoriousness with the years, and we palliate in the dead those vices and follies for which we would cut a living man. Moreover, the libel law looks not beyond the grave; and though at the moment of writing his book Suetonius deserved the pillory, he has won at last an admiring appreciation. But it is his conspicuous merit that he drew a series of individual portraits; there is not one of his Emperors who is not separated from his fellows rather by the peculiar frailties of his temper than by any public achievement.

And what a magnificent material did Suetonius choose whereon to exercise his genius! It was a period of colossal enterprise and savage lust. The old austerity was dead, and the modern world had not yet learned the lesson of restraint. The vastest empire, save one, which a triumphant energy has ever fashioned, had succeeded to the policy of small states. A hundred wealthy colonies poured into Rome a willing tribute. Military glory was aided by an unparalleled talent for administration. As no land seemed too distant to subdue, so none was too wild for civilisation. The progress of victorious armies was marked by the more lasting achievements of peaceful ingenuity. The modern general lays his railroad as he goes; the Roman warrior, inspired by a similar wisdom, threaded the desert by an imperishable highway. Wherever a river was to be spanned, he threw across it a bridge which has defied the shocks of storm and tide. He carried the gift of pure water from hill to hill on the giant aqueducts which attest to-day the Roman omnipotence. The known world was but a network of Imperial roads, and an army might march without impediment from York to Jerusalem. Meanwhile the wealth of tribute gave the Em-

perors means and opportunity to indulge their vices and pamper their appetites. And surely they rose one and all to the height of the occasion. The masterpiece of Suetonius might bear for a sub-title: "the grosser Passions delineated," for, in truth, there is no passion, no vice, that does not find itself personified in one or other of the Twelve. To us it appears remarkable that so much wickedness should be concentrated in so few monarchs. But lack of habit accounts for much, and may be it is natural that the Romans, for centuries accustomed to the Republican ideal, should interpret callously the advantages of a tyranny. Here were a set of men, trained to believe in equality, suddenly raised to the summit of divine honours. And with the aid of that monstrous corruption which is the birthright of Cosmopolis, they invented vices, as their generals annexed provinces.

So Suetonius spared no single one of the Emperors. He lays a blasphemous hand on the great Julius himself. If he does not see in this splendid hero the greatest general, the wisest statesman, the finest historian that the world has known, he yet esteems his virtues, and does all the justice of which his unemotional temper is capable to his illustrious qualities. But the chance of scandal cannot be resisted, and Suetonius omits not even the scurrilous verses of the time. However, it is with Tiberius that the biographer finds his real talent. The description of the voluptuary's *sæva ac lenta natura*, "savage and sluggish nature," is nothing less than stupendous. The Emperor who appointed a new officer of state, *a voluptatibus*, "for pleasures," easily surpassed the Marquis de Sade in ingenious cruelty. Whether or no the sojourn at Capri be faithfully described, it remains an insurpassable record of wild insanity, until at the last the Emperor ceases to be human. Tacitus himself had no love of Tiberius, yet his loftier portrait is also more convincing. The man of weak will and clear perception is a psychological possibility; and while in the page of Tacitus Tiberius is a figure of austere tragedy, in Suetonius he is but a bogey of disgust, a common epitome of the vices.

And so the vain and brutish Caligula, who believed that in gathering shells he was wresting the spoils of Ocean, who

designed a horse for the consulship, and who could scarcely dine without the excitement of carnage, is followed by the stealthy Claudius, who, despite his erudition and tact of government, loved nothing so much as the contemplation of dying gladiators, and who died in a welter of blood. Then comes Nero, fit subject for Suetonius, professional poisoner and amateur of the arts, who delighted in gold fish-nets and silver-shod mules, who sang his own songs "with a small and rusty voice," and who really believed that with his death there died an artist. So Galba's misery is matched by the gluttony of Vitellius, and even the wisdom of Vespasian is balanced by a hungry covetousness. Titus escapes easily with the semblance of too fine a virtue; and since Suetonius is resolved that the Emperors shall be remembered by vice or triviality, Domitian is sent down to posterity as the fly-catcher.

Meanwhile, under Claudius and Nero, the mighty Empire grows in strength, and Suetonius does not note it. In his page the drum is not beaten, the trumpet blares not. When he might present to the world a great historical drama, he prefers to play the tragi-comedy of cruelty and lust. The triumph of engineers is as little to him as the courage of armies. True, he records without sequence or statistics the mere events of each reign; but his curiosity is for passion, not statesmanship, and he is only himself when, forgetting the march of Empire, he sits him down to enumerate the follies and vices of his heroes. Tacitus, of course, invites a comparison, and in these two—Suetonius and Tacitus—are illustrated the opposing methods of history. The author of the *Annals*, that he may set forth his country's omnipotence with a proper reverence for truth, is deaf to the frail, delightful voice of hearsay. Though he has no ardent love for his Empire, yet he understands its strength and its weakness, and he displays its achievements with an absolute regard for the claims of proportion. A rarely wise man, he knows most things, and what he does not know he easily divines. And as you read him, you recognise that he is not only relating the story of one period: he is opening a treasure-house of political sagacity, from which the statesmen of all ages may

enrich themselves. More than this, he is a master of style and irony; with four words he can sketch a situation or enunciate a policy. He who wrote, "They make a solitude and call it peace," has nothing to learn in the art of expression, and it is the good fortune of the world that the most puissant writer of all time should have elected to write the history of the most puissant age. But Tacitus merely affords a general confirmation of Suetonius. His material is so far loftier, that they rarely meet upon a common ground. The one strikes the stars, while the other crawls upon the earth. Yet for the very reason that they live and work at different levels, the one supplements the narrative of the other. To doubt the infinite superiority of Tacitus would be to laugh at the truth. One might as well prefer a common memoir to the Hamlet of Shakespeare. Tacitus is a philosopher, with a godlike understanding, who compels conviction while he dazzles the judgment. He lectures you in the staid and noble dialect of omniscience, and to miss a phrase is to confuse the argument. Suetonius, on the other hand, has no ambition of politics or philosophy. He is but a shambling old gossip, who sits over the fire and entertains the first comer with the stories his grandfather told him when he was a boy. For our guidance he provides nothing, for our amusement much; and it is small wonder that while we render all our respect to Tacitus, we turn more often to Suetonius, that he may beguile our leisure. We cannot always rest at the cold and splendid altitudes of thought; it is seldom that we cannot enjoy a crack across the hearth with a master of scandal.

The question arises: Was Suetonius moved by malice or by love of truth in the selection of his material? And the answer comes that he is never convicted of the worse motive. At the same time, it is evident that he had a natural love for whatever was curious and abnormal. Let us suppose that all facts are of equal value, and we must confess that the historian's interest is mirrored in his choice. So Suetonius found food for reflection in the decaying morality of the Empire, and he reported that which he heard and knew with a perfect impartiality. He held a brief for nobody; and if he ever felt the prick of political animosity, he is careful to

conceal the wound. Averse from flattery, he closed his history at the death of Domitian; and there is not a single word in his book that impugns his honesty.

He had, on the contrary, a passion for accuracy, and while he suppresses his judgment he parades his facts. As a writer, he is clear rather than distinguished, and his single preoccupation is to express his meaning with a just simplicity. Where Latin fails him, he falls back upon Greek; and as he was a master of both tongues, he could at will double his vocabulary. Of the man we know little enough, and that little wholly to his credit. By profession an advocate and writer, he discharged the office of secretary to Hadrian, and left behind him one immortal work. His peace was disturbed by an unhappy marriage, on which account he demanded, with faulty logic, the *jus trium liberorum*. These scanty rumours, with two passages in Pliny, complete our poor information. But Pliny's affection may be cited for the confusion of those who are persuaded by his outspokenness to belittle his character and flout his sincerity. "He was my comrade," says Pliny, "and the companion of my school-days." And thereafter, in a letter to Trajan, Pliny declares him the most upright, honest, and learned man that ever he had met, and that he loved him the more the more closely he came to know him. So once again we must separate the man from his work, and feel no surprise that an amiable scholar should have recorded faithfully and without shrinking the vices and frailties of the Roman Emperors.

SUETONIUS

THE HISTORIE OF CAIUS JULIUS CÆSAR

BEFORE I enter into speech concerning Cæsar's death, it shall not be impertinent to deliver summarily those points which concerne the shape, feature, and proportion of his body: his habite and apparell: his fashions and behaviour: and withall, what may touch both his civill and also his martiall affaires.

Of stature he is reported to have beene tall; of complexion white and cleare; with limbs well trussed and in good plight; somewhat full faced; his eies black, lively, and quick; also very healthfull, saving that in his latter daies he was given to faint and swoune sodainly; yea, and as he dreamed, to start and be affrighted: twice also in the midst of his martiall affaires, he was surprized with the falling sicknes. About the trimming of his body, he was over-curious: so as he would not onely be notted and shaven very precisely, but also have his haire plucked, in so much as some cast it in his teeth, and twitted him therewith. Moreover, finding by experience, that the deformity of his bald head was oftentimes subject to the scoffes and scornes of back-biters and slaundersers, hee tooke the same exceedingly to the heart: and therefore he both had usually drawne downe his haire that grew but thin, from the crowne toward his forehead: and also of all honours decreed unto him from the Senate and People, he neither received nor used any more willingly, than the priviledge to weare continually the triumphant Lawrel guirland. Men say also, that in his apparel he was noted for singularity, as who used to goe in his Senatours purple studded robe, trimmed with a jagge or frindge at the sleeve hand: and the same so, as hee never was but girt over it, and that very slack and loose: where upon, arose (for certaine) that saying of Sulla,

who admonished the Nobles oftentimes, To beware of the boy that went girded so dissolutely.¹

He dwelt at first in the Suburra,² but after he was high priest, in the streete Sacra, in an edifice of the Cities. Many have written, that he was exceedingly addicted to neatnesse in his house, and sumptuous fare at his Table. The Mannor house which he founded out of the very ground, and with great charges finished in the territorie Nemorensis, because it was not wholly answerable to his minde, he demolished and pulled quite downe: although as yet he was but of meane estate and deeply endebted. Finally, this speech goeth of him, That in his expeditions he caried about with him pavements of checker worke made of quarels square cut,³ so as they might be taken asunder, and set againe together.

He made a voyage (as they say) into Britaine, in hope of pearles: and otherwhiles, in comparing their bignesse, would with his owne hand peise them to finde their weight. For to get and buy up pretious stones, engraved and chased peeces, Images, and painted Tables of antique worke, he was ever most eager and sharp set. Slaves likewise, if they were any thing fresh and new come, trimly set out with all, and fine, he procured at an exceeding price, such as himselfe also was ashamed of: so as he forbad expresly the same should be brought in any of his reckonings and accountms.

It is reported of him, that in all the Provinces which he governed, hee feasted continually, and furnished two Halls or dining chambers ordinarily; the one, wherein either Gaules in their warlike habite, or Greeks in their cloakes; the other,

¹ This manner of going so loosely girt, might signifie a dissolute and effeminate wanton. Hereupon Cicero made choyce in the civill warre to take part with Pompeius against Ceasar: and when one asked him how it came to passe, that in siding with Pompeius hee was so much overseene, for that hee had the worse, his answer hee made, *Præcinctura me decepit*, i. deceived I was by that loose girding of his.

² A streete in Rome much frequented.

³ The paving tiles of marble, etc., whereof such floores are made.

in which the gown'd Romaines, together with the more noble and honourable personages of the Provinces sat. The domesticall Discipline of his house hee kept so duly, so precisely, and with such severity, in small matters as well as greater; that hee bound with fetters and yrons his Baker for serving up secretly unto his guests other bread than to himselfe: and a freed man of his owne (whom otherwise he did set very great store by) he put to death, for dishonouring by adulterie a Romaine Gentleman's wife, albeit no man made complaint thereof. . . .

An opinion there is constantly received, that he was given to carnall pleasures, and that way spent much: also, that he dishonoured many Dames, and those of noble houses: by name among others, Postumia the wife of Servius Sulpitius; Lollia, wife to A. Gabinius; Tertulla, M. Crassus his wife, and Mutia the wife of Cn. Pompeius. For, certaine, it is, that not onely the Curiones, both Father and Sonne, but many others also reproached Pompeius, that for whose cause, he had put away his owne wife after she had borne him three children, and whom hee was wont with a deepe sigh and groane to call Ægisthus,¹ his daughter (I say) afterwards, hee espoused; upon a desire of power and greatnes by that mariage. But above the rest, he cast affection to Servilia the mother of M. Brutus; for whom both in his last Consulship he had bought a pearle that cost him sixe millions of Sesterces:² and also unto whom during the civill warre, over and above other free gifts, hee sold in open port sale, faire Lands and most goodly Manors at a very low price: what time verily, when most men mervailed that they went so cheape, Cicero most pleasantly and conceitedly, "That yee may know" (quoth hee) "shee hath the better penny-worth in the purchase, *Tertia deducta est.*"³ For it was thought that Ser-

¹ That is, Adulterer: for that Ægysthus committed adultery with Clytemnestra the wife of Agamemnon.

² 46875 pounds sterling, or 150000 French crowns, according to Budæus.

³ "The third (Tertia) is deducted (led away)." In the twofold sense of these two words lyeth the pleasant grace of this conceited speech.

vilis was bawd also to her owne daughter Tertia, and brought her to Cæsar his bed.

Neither forbare he so much as mens wives in the Provinces where he was governour, as appeareth even by this his Distichon, taken up likewise by his Souldiours at the Gaule Triumph.

*Urbani, servate uxores; mæchum calvum ad ducimus,
Auro in Gallia stuprum emisti, hic sumpsisti mutuum.*

Looke to your wives, yee cytizens, a lecher bald wee bring.
In Gaule Adultery cost thee gold, heere 'tis but borrowing.¹

He was enamoured also upon Queenes, and among them he loved Eunoe, the Moore, wife of Bogudes (King of Mauritania) upon whom, as also upon her husband, he bestowed very many gifts and of infinite value, as Naso hath left in writing: but most especially hee fancied Cleopatra: for, with her, hee both sate up many times and feasted all night long even untill the breake of day; and also in the same Barge Galley² called *Thalamegos*, had passed into Ægypt, almost as farre as to Æthiopia, but that his Armie refused to followe: and in the end having trained her into the Citie of Rome, he sent her back againe, not without exceeding great honours, and enriched with many rewards: yea, and suffered her to call the sonne she bare, after his owne name. Whom verily, some Greek writers have recorded, to have been very like unto Cæsar both in shape and also in gate: and M. Antonius avouched unto the Senate, that by the same resemblance he knew him to be his sonne: averring withall, That C. Matius, Caius Oppius, and the rest of Cæsars friends knew as much. Of whom C. Oppius (as if the thing were so pregnant, that it required some Apologie and defence) put forth a book entituled thus: *That he was not Cæsars Sonne, whom Cleo-*

¹ For, as hee borrowed of other men, so hee lent or paide as much againe, in that his owne wife Pompeia, as is thought, was kept by P. Clodius.

² Of which the Ægyptians Kings had alwaies ready rigged 800, as Appian writeth.

patra fathered upon him. Helvius Cinna, a Tribune of the Com. confessed unto many persons, That hee had a Law drawne out in writing and in readines, which Cæsar being absent himselfe commaunded him to propose, to this effect, That it might be lawfull for him to marrie what wives and as many as he would,¹ for to get children upon. And that no man need at all to doubt how infamous he was, both for uncleannesse of body against kinde, and also for adulteries, Curio the Father in a certaine Oration calleth him a woman for all men, and a man for all women.

That he was a most spaire drinker of wine, his very enemies would never denie. Whereupon arose this Apophthegm of M. Cato, That of all that ever were, Cæsar alone came sober to the overthrow of the State. For, about his foode and diet C. Oppius sheweth hee was so indifferent and without curiosity, that when upon a time his Host set before him upon the bord olde ranke oile in steed of greene, sweet, and fresh, so that other guests refused it, he onely (by his saying) fell to it and eate therof the more liberally; because he would not be thought to blame his Host either for negligence or rusticitie.

From other mens goods he held not his hands, neither when he had the command of Armies abroad, nor when he was in place of magistracie at home: for, in Spaine (as some have recorded) he took money of the Proconsul,² and the Allies there, and that by way of begging, to help him out of debt: and certaine townes of the Lusitanes,³ he sacked in hostile manner, albeit they denied not to do whatsoever he commanded them; and besides, did set open their gates for him against his comming. In Gaule he robbed and spoiled the Chappels and Temples of the Gods, full of rich gifts and oblations. As for Cities, he put them to the sack, more often

¹ For otherwise, *polugamia* was unlawfull. And Antonius was the first Romaine that had two wives at once.

² Tubero.

³ That is in Portogale.

for bootie sake and pillage, than for any trespassed committed. Whereupon it came to passe, that he got abundance of gold, so as of it which he had to spare and did set to sale, he sold throughout Italy and in the Provinces after 3000 sesterces of silver the pound weight. In his first Consulship, when he had stollen out of the Capitoll three thousand pound waight of gold, hee bestowed in the place thereof as much brasse guilt. The priviledges of Societie and alliance with the Romanes, as also Kings Titles he gave for summes of money: as who (for example) from Ptolomeus¹ that was but one, tooke away wel-neere 6000 talents, in the name of himselfe and Pompeius: but afterwards by most open pilling, poling, and sacriledges, he maintained the charges both of civill warres, and also of his triumphes and solemne shewes exhibited to the people.

In eloquence and warlike feates together, he either equalled or excelled the glory of the very best. After his accusation of Dolobella, he was no doubt ranged in the ranke of the principall Advocates at Law. Certes, Cicero in his Catalogue of Oratours to Brutus, sayeth: 'He cannot see any one, unto whom Cæsar might give place'; affirming withall, 'That hee holdeth an elegant and gay, a stately also, and in some sort a generous and Gentlemanlike kind of pleading,' and unto Cornelius Nepos, thus wrote he of the same Cæsar, 'What should a man say more? which of all there Oratours that practised nothing else but Oratorie, will you preferre before this Cæsar? who is there in sentences either quicker or cumming thicker? who for words, yeelded more gallant or more elegant?' Hee seemeth whiles he was yet but young, to have followed that forme of eloquence onely, which Strabo Cæsar professed: out of whose Oration also intituled, *Pro Sardis*, he transferred some sentences, worde for word, into his owne, called *Divinatio*. It is said, that in his Pronunciation,² he used an high and shrill voyce; an ardent motion; and

¹ Auletes.

² Take it generally for the whole Action of the Oratour which included also Gesture.

earnest gesture, not without a lovely grace. Some Orations he left behind him (in writing). Among which certaine goe under his name, but untruely as namely that *pro Q. Metello*: which Augustus deemeth (and not without good cause) to have beene written rather by Notaries, who either tooke not his words aright, or wrote not so fast, as he delivered them, than penned by himselfe. For in certaine copies I find that it had not so much as this Inscription, *Pro Metello*: but *quam scripsit Metello*:² being (as it is indeede) a speeche comming from the person of Cæsar, cleering Metellus and himselfe, against the criminations and slaunders of common backbiters to them both. The Oration likewise, *Ad Milites* [To the Soldiers], in Spaine, the same Augustus hardly thinketh to be his: and yet there be 2 of them extant: the one, was pronounced at the former battaile: the other, at the latter: when, by the report of Asinius Pollio, he had not so much as any time to make a speech; the enemies ran upon him and charged so suddainly.

He left Commentaries also of his owne Acts, to wit, as touching the Gaule-warre, and the Civill warre with Pompeius. For, of the Alexandrine, African, and Spanish warres, who was the writer it is uncertaine: whilest some thinke it was Oppius; others, Hirtius; who also made up and finished the last of the Gaule-war, which was unperfect. As concerning those Commentaries aforesaid of Cæsar, Cicero in the same booke,² writeth thus: 'Hee wrote Commentaries exceeding well, I assure you, to be liked: (naked they be, straight and upright, yea and lovely too, being devested, as it were, of all ornaments and trimme attire of Style) but while his mind was, that other disposed to write a complet historie, should furnish and serve themselves with matter there ready to their hands, happilie, to some foolish folke he did some pleasure, who are willing to curle and frizle the same with their crisping pins, but surely the wiser sort he skared altogether from writing.' Of the same Commentaries, Hirtius giveth this

¹ Which he wrote for, or to Metellus.

² *Ad Brutum*.

report, 'They are' quoth he, 'in the judgement of all men so approved, that it seemes he hath prevented writers, and not given them any helpe.' And yet, our admiration of this matter is more than all mens beside. For, whereas others doe know onely how well and purely they were penned, wee note also with that facilitie and expedition he wrote them. Pollio Asinius thinketh they were compiled with smal care and diligence: with as little regard also of sound truth: seeing that Cæsar received hand over head, and beleaved most things lightly: namely such as were by others atchieved; and even those Actes which himselfe exploited either of purpose or for default of memorie hee put down wrong: he supposeth also that he meant to have written the same a new and corrected them. He left moreover ii. books, *de Analogia*: and as many *Anticatones*¹ besides a Poeme, entituled *Iter*; of which books the foremost² he made in his passage over the Alpes, what time as having ridde his Circuits and finished the Assises, he returned out of the hither province of Gaule to his armie: those next following [*Anticatones*], about the time of the battaile at Munda. And the last of all [*Iter*], whiles he travailed from the Citie of Rome into the farther province of Spaine, and performed that journey within 24 dayes. Extant, there bee also Epistles of his written unto the Senate: which (as it seemeth) he was the first that turned into pages and leaves, even to a forme of a Memoriall: whereas before time, the Consuls and generalles, never sent any letters but written overthwart the paper. Missives likewise there be of his written to Cicero, and to familiar friends as touching home-affaires. In which, if any matters of secrecie were to be carried, he wrote them by privie markes:³ that is to say, placing the letters in such order, as there could not one word be made of them. Which if a man would descypher and find out, he must of Necessitie exchange everie fourth letter of the Alphabet, to wit, d for a and the rest likewise.

¹ Against Cicero in the dispraise of Cato Uticensis in whose commendation Cicero had written before.

² *De Analogia*.

³ In manner of Cyphres.

Furthermore there be certaine workes of his abroad in mens hands written when he was a boy and a very youth: as namely, *The Praises of Hercules*, *The Tragædie of Ædipus*: as also, *Collects of Sayings and Apophthegms*: all which pamphlets, Augustus forbad to be published, in a certaine Epistle of his; which beeing verie briefe and plaine; he sent to Pompeius Macer whome hee had appointed for the disposing and ordering of his Libraries.

In handling his weapon most skilfull he was, and in horsemanship as cunning: but what paines he would take, it is incredible. In the marching of his armie, his manner was to be foremost: sometime on horsebacke, more often on foote: bare headed, whether the Sunne shone, or the Clouds poured raine. He made exceeding long Journies with incredible speede: even an hundred miles a day riding in some hired wagon, if he were lightly appointed otherwise and without cariages. Were rivers in his way to hinder his passage? crosse over them he would; either swimming, or els bearing himselfe upon blowed lether bottles: so that, verie often he prevented the letter-carriers, and messengers of his comming.

In performing his expeditions and martial exploits doubtful it is, whether he were more warie or adventurous. He neither ledde his armie at any time through wayes dangerous for ambushments, before he had throughly vewed and descried the situation of the quarters: nor put over his fleete into Britaine, untill he had beforehand in proper person sounded the havens, and tryed the manner of sayling, and arrivall to the Iland. Howbeit, the same man, (as circumspect as he was) upon newes brought unto him, that his Campe was beleagured in Germaine; passed through his enemies *Corps de guard* in French habite, and so came unto his owne men. From Brindis to Dirrhachium, he sayled over sea in winter,¹ betweene ii. Fleetes of the enemies riding opposite one to the other: and whiles his own forces which he had commanded to

¹ *Hieme*, or in a tempestuous and stormie season, as Virgil and others use the word.

follow streight after him, lingered still behinde; having sent messengers oftentimes to call them away but all in vaine, at last himselve secretly in the night went abourd into a verie small botoum, with his head hooded: and neither discovered who he was, nor suffered the pillot to give way unto the Tempest that came full affront the vessell, before hee was well nere overwhelmed with the waves.

No religious feare of divine prodigies could ever fray him from any enterprise, or stay him if it were once in hand. As he sacrificed upon a time, the beast made an escape and ran away: yet for all that differred not he his journey against Scipio and Juba. He fortun'd also to take a fall then, even as hee went forth of the ship to land: but turning this fore-token to the better presage, 'I take possession,' quoth hee, 'of thee, O Afrike.' Moreover, in verie skorne, and to make but a mockerie of those prophesies, whereby the name of Scipions was fatall to that province, and held luckie and invincible there, he had with him in his Campe the most base and abject fellow of all the Cornelian family, and who in reproch of his life was surnamed Saluto.¹

He fought not often set fields appointed before hand, but uppon the present occasion offred; many times he struck a battaile immediately after his journy, otherwhiles in most foule and stormie wether, when no man ever thought he would once sturre. Neither held he off, and detracted fight, but in his latter dayes: being then of this opinion that the oftener he had gotten victorie, the lesse he was to venture and make tryall of fortune; also, that a victorie could gaine him nothing so much, as some disastrous calamite might take from him. No enemie put he ever to flight, but he discamped him and drave him out of the field. By this meanes he gave them whom hee had once discomfited, no time to be thinke themselves. In any doubtfull and dangerous service, his manner was to send away the horses, and his owne with the first: to the ende, that when all meanes of flight were gone, they

¹ Or Salutio. Read Plinie, *Natur. Hist.* lib. 7. cap. 12.

might of necessitie be forced the rather to stand to it and abide to the last.

The horse he used to ride upon was strangely marked, with feete resembling verie neere a mans, and the hoves cloven like toes, which horse was foaled about home: and when the Soothsayers of their learning had pronounced, that he pre-saged unto his owner the Empire of the whole world, verie carefull hee was to reare him and nourish him. Now when as the beast would abide no man els to ride him, himselfe was he that backed him first. The full pourtraict and proportion of which horse, he dedicated also afterwards before the Temple of Venus Genitrix.¹

Many a time himselfe alone renued the battaile when it was discomfited, standing in their way that fled and holding them one by one backe: yea and by wreathing their throats he turned them againe upon the enemies. Thus dealt he I say with his own soldiers, when they were many times verily so fearfully maskared, that a Standerdbearer threatned as he staied him, to smite him with the footepoint of the speare that carried the Ægle: and another left behinde him the Ensigne in Ceasars hand as he deteined it.

Of his constant resolution these be no lesse tokens, if not greater (which I shall now rehearse). After the battaile of Pharsalia, when he had sent his forces before into Africke, and himselfe crossed the seas through the streight of Hellespont in a small passengers barke, where he met with L. Cassius one of the adverse part, with x. strong war-ships armed with brasen beakeheads; he avoided him not, nor gave way: but affronting him, began to exhort him for to yield: and so upon his humble supplication received him aboard.

At Alexandria being busie about the assault and winning of a bridge where by a sodaine sallie of the enemies he was

¹ Venus, surnamed Genitrix, i. Mother, Cæsar honoured, as the goddess from the which he was descended, by Jūlus or Ascanius, her nephew.

driven to take a boat, and many besides made hast to get into the same, he lept into the sea, and by swimming almost a quarter of a mile recovered cleare the next ship: bearing up his left hand all the while, for feare the writings which he held therein should take wet, and drawing his rich coate armour after him by the teeth, because the enemie should not have it as a spoyle.

His soldiers hee allowed for good, in regard neither of manners and behaviour,¹ nor to welth and outward estate, but onely of bodily strength: and he used them all with like severitie: with like indulgence also and sufferance. For he awed and chastised them not in all places nor at all times: but only when the enemie was very neere at hand: and then especially was he most severe, and precise in exacting and executing of discipline: in so much as hee would not give them warning of the time, either of journey or of battaile, but kept them readie, intente and prest to be led forth upon a suddaine, everie minute of an houre, whether soever he wold; this did he also many times without any cause, especially upon rainie daies and festivals. And admonishing his soldiers ever and anon, to observe and have an ey unto him, he would suddainely in the day-time or by night, withdraw himselfe out of the way: yea and stretch out his journey more then ordinarie; even to tyre them out who were late in following after.

As for his soldiers that were terrified with the rumor of their enemies, his manner was to animate and encourage them, not by denying or diminishing, but by augmenting the same to the highest degree, even above the truth. And thus upon a time, when the expectation of Juba his comming was terrible, he called his soldiers together: and in a publike speech unto them, "Be it knowne unto you all," quoth he, "that within these very fewe dayes the King will bee here with a power of 10 Legions of 30000 men of armes;² an

¹ This seemeth strang and contrary to the Romane discipline.

² Footemen heavily armed.

hundred thowsand light armours¹ and three hundred Elephants. Forbeare therefore some of you to enquire or imagine further of the matter: but give credite unto me, that know this for a truth: or else verely I will embarque you in the oldest ship I can get, and cause you to be carried away with any winde, into what Landes and Countries it shall be your fortunes to fall upon."

As touching his soldiers trespasses and delinquencies, he neither observed and tooke knowledge of them all, nor yet punished them fully to the proportion.² But as he made streight inquisition after those who trayterously forsooke their colours, and were mutinous, and proceeded against them with rigour: so, at others he would winke. Sometimes also, after a great battaile and victorie obtained, he released them all of militarie duties; permitting them in all licentiousnesse to roist and royt wantonly here and there: beeing wont to give it out, That his souldiers (perfumed though they were with Odours: and besmeered with sweete oyles) could fight valiantly. Neither called he them in his publike oration, plaine soldiours, but by a more pleasing name, Fellow-soldiers. Furthermore he maintained them so trim and brave, that he stucke not to set them out in polished armour, damasked with silver and gold: as well for goodly shewe, as because they should in battaile take better hold and keepe the same more surely for feare of damage and losse. Moreover he loved them so affectionately, that when he heard of Titurius his overthrow,³ he suffred the haire of his head and beard to growe long, and would not cut the same before he had revenged their death. By which meanes, he both had his soldiers most devoted unto him, and also made them right valorous.

When he was entred into the Civill warre, the Centurions of everie Legion presented unto him one horseman a peece,

¹ Footemen lightly armed.

² *Pro modo*, or, *pro more*, i. after the manner of militarie discipline.

³ And the Legions with him, A.U.C. 700.

provided out of their owne private stocke; and generally all his soldiers offred their service freely, without allowance of corne or wages out of his purse: considering that the welthier sort had taken upon them the finding and maintenance of the poorer. Neither all that long time of soldierie, was their any of them that once revolted from him; and verie many being taken prisoners (by the enemies) and having life granted unto them upon condition, they would serve as soldiers against him, refused it. Hunger and other extremities which necessarily follow warre, not onely whilst they were beseged, but also when themselves beleagured others, they indured so resolutely, that during their strong siede and fortification against Dyrrachium, Pompey, when he saw what kinde of bread made of a certaine Herbe they lived upon, said, He had to deale with wild beasts, commanding withall, the same quickly to be had away, and not shewed to any one: for feare, least his owne soldiers hearts should be utterly daunted, seeing once the patience and constancie of their enemies. And how valiantly they bare themselves in fight, this one thing may testifie that having taken one foyle in a battaile before Dyrrachium, they voluntarily offered to be executed therefor;¹ in so much as their Generall was more troubled about comforting then punishing them. In all other battailes, they fewer in number by many parts, easily vanquished infinit forces of their enemies. To conclude, one cohort² and no more of the 6 Legion, which had the keeping of a skonce,³ made good the place and held out for certaine houres against foure of Pompeis Legions: and were in manner all of them throughout shot into their bodies with a multitude of their arrows: of which were found one hundred and thirtie thousand within their trench and rampires. And no mervaille, if a man consider their several facts singly by them selves, either of Cassius Scæva a Centurion, or of C. Acilius a common soldier: to say nothing of many more. Scæva, when his eie was smitten out, his thigh and shoulder shot through, and

¹ To be tithed, i. everie tenth man to suffer death. Appian.

² The tenth part of a legion.

³ Or fort, at the Siege of Dyrrachium.

his buckler perced likewise with the shot of 120 arrowes yet defended the guard of the fort committed to his charge, and kept it still. Acilius in a fight at sea before Massilia, after his right hand was quite cut off, wherwith he had caught the Poope of his enemies ship, following herein that memorable example of Cynecirus among the Greekes, leapt notwithstanding into the saide shippe, shoving and driving before him with the bosse and pike of his buckler those that he met in his way.

In ten yeeres space during the Gaule-warre, they never so much as once mutinied: in the Civill warres some times they did: yet so as they were soone reclaimed and came againe into order: not so much by the remisse indulgence as the authorite of their Captaine: for, never would he yeeld one jot unto them in these their seditious tumults: nay, hee alwaies withstood and crossed them: and verily the 9 Legion at Placentia, (notwithstanding Pompeius yet was in armes with his power in the field) he cashierde ful and wholly, and sent away with shame: yea after many humble prayers and supplications with much a do restored he them to their places again, and not before execution done upon the offenders.

As for the soldiers of the tent Legion, when as in Rome they earnestly called for their discharge from warfare, and required their rewards even with mightie threats, and that to the exceeding danger of the whole Citie, at what time also, the war was verie hote in Afrike, he neither would admit them into his presence, nor yet dismisse them albeit his friends seemed to scare him from taking that course: but with one onely word, whereby he named them *Quirites*,¹ instead of *Milites*, he did so gently turne and winde, yea and bring them to his bent, that forthwith they made answere, They would be his souldiers still: and so of their owne accord followed him into Africk, notwithstanding he refused their service. And yet for all this, he ammerced and fined the most

¹ *Quirites*, i. Romane Citizens. As freed now from their alleageance, which by their military oath they were bound unto.

mutinous sort of them with the losse of a third part, both of the pillage and also of the Lands appointed for them.

In affectionate love and faithfull protection of his dependants, he was not wanting in his verie youth. When he had upon a time defended Masintha a noble young Gentleman against King Hiempsal,¹ so earnestly, that in the debate and altercation between them he flew upon Juba the Kings sonne and caught him by the beard: after that the said Masintha was pronounced definitively the Kings Tributarie: he forthwith both rescued him out of their hands that would have haled him away: and also kept him close a long time in his owne Lodging; and soone after his Pretorship there expired, when he went into Spaine, tooke the young gentleman away with him in his own litter among others his followers, and favorites, and those officers that attended upon him with their knitches of rods.

His friends he used at all times with so great curtesie and tender respect, that when C. Oppius who accompanied him in his journey through a wild forest fell suddainely sicke, he gave him rowme in the onely Inne that was, while him selfe lay all night upon the ground without doores. Moreover, being now become Emperour and Lord of all: some of them he advanced even from the lowest degree unto the highest place of honour. And when he was blamed and reproved therefore, he professed openly, That if he had used the helpe of robbers by the highway side, of cutters and swasbucklers in maintaining of his owne dignitie, he would not faile but requite them and be thankfull even to such.

He never entertained malice and hatred against any man so deeply but willing he was to lay downe the same upon occasion offered. Notwithstanding C. Memmius had made most bitter invectives against him, and hee againe written unto him as bitterly, yet soone after, when the said Memmius

¹ Who laide claime unto Masintha as his Tributarie.

stoode for the Consulship, hee friended him all that he could with his good word and procured him voyces. When C. Calvus after certaine Libels and defamatorie Epigrams against him, dealt by the mediation of friends for a reconciliation, he of his owne accord wrote first unto him. As for Valerius Catullus (by whose verses concerning Mamurra he could not chuse but take knowledge that he was noted and branded with perpetuall infamie) when he excused himselfe unto him and was readie to make satisfaction, he bad him to supper that verie day: and as he used before time, so he continued still to make his fathers house his lodging.

Moreover, in his revengements hee was by nature most milde. Those rovers by whome he was taken prisoner, after he had forced to yeeld, because he had sworne before that he would hang them upon a crosse, he commanded that their throats be first cut, and then to be crucified.¹ Cornelius Phagita, whose for-laying him by night, he lying sicke and latitant hardly had escaped (although he gave him a good reward²), but had like to have beene brought unto Sulla, he never could find in his heart to hurt. Philemon a servant and secretarie of his, who had promised his enemies to take his life away by poyson, he punished onely by simple death, without any other torment. Being cited and called much upon to beare witnesse against P. Clodius, for being naught with his wife Pompeia, who was accused besides for the same cause to have polluted the sacred Ceremonies,³ he denied that he ever knew anything of the matter, or was able to bring in evidence, albeit both his mother Aurelia, and Julia his sister, had simply related all upon their credites even before the same Jurie and Judges. And being demanded thereupon, wherefore then he had put away his wife? 'Because I deeme,' quoth he, 'that those of my house ought to be cleere as well of suspition as of crime.'

¹ Where note, that crucifying was a painefull death.

² Talents, Plutarch.

³ Of *Bona Dea*, in whose chappell it was thought he did the deede disguised in womans apparell.

The moderation and clemencie which he shewed as well in the menaging of the civil war, as in his victorie, was admirable. When Pompeius denounced in minatory terms, that he would reckon him for anemie, whosoever he was, that failed to maintaine the Common-wealth: he for his part pronounced openly, That he wold make sure account of them to be his, who stooode indifferent betweene and were Neuters. And so many, as upon the commendation of Pompeius before time, he had given any charg or place of command unto, in his armie under him, he granted them all free leave and libertie to depart unto him. Upon Articles and conditions of yeelding moved and propounded to Pompeius at Ilerda, whiles between both parts there passed reciprocall dealing and commerce continually: when Afranius and Petreius had taken within their Campe certaine of Ceasars soldiers, and (which they repented soone after) put them to the sword, he would in no wise imitate the same perfidious treachery of theirs practised against him. At the battaile of Pharsalia he cryed out, 'Spare all Citizens'; and afterwards granted unto everie one of his owne soldiers (none excepted) this favour to save each of them one of the adverse part, whom he would: neither were any found or knowne slaine, but in the verie medly, except Afranius, Faustus, and L. Ceasar the younger: and even these verely, men thinke, were not with his good will put to death. Of whom notwithstanding: both the former, to wit, Afranius and Faustus, after pardon obtained had rebelled and entred into armes againe, and L. Ceasar for his part, when in cruell manner by fire and sword he had made havock of his freed men and bondservants, spitefully slew the verie wild-beasts also which Ceasar had provided against the solemnite of a publike shew to be exhibited before the people. To conclude, in his very latter daies he permitted al those also whom beforetime he had not pardond to return into Italy, to govern as magistrates in the Citie, and to command as generals in the field. Yea the very Statues of L. Sulla and Pompeius which the commons had overthrown and cast up and down, he erected again in their due places. And if after this, there was any plot

intended or word spoken against him by his adversaries to his hurt, he chose rather to repress than to revenge the same. And so, diverse conspiracies detected and night conventicles, hee found fault with no farther then thus, by giving notice in some edict and proclamation, that he had intelligence thereof. And as for such as gave out bitter speeches of him, he thought it sufficient in an open assemblie to give them an Admonition, not to persist therein. Finally, when in a most slaunderous booke written by A. Cæcina, and certaine verses as rayling and reproachfull as it, devised by Pitholaus, his credite and reputation was much cracked and empaiied he tooke the matter no more to the heart, than one Citizen would have done at an others hand.

Howbeit, the rest of his deedes and words overweigh and depresse his good parts downe: so as he might be thought both to have abused his soveraintie, and worthily to have benee murdered. For, he not only tooke upon him excessive honours, to wit, continued Consulship, perpetuall Dictature, and Presidency of Manners;¹ and more than so, the forename of Emperour,² the Surname Father of his Countrie; his statue among the Kings, an eminent seate of Estate raised above the rest in the *Orchestra*, among the Senatours: but hee suffered also more stately dignities than be seeming the condition of a mortall wight to bee decreed and ordained for him: namely, a golden Throne in the Curia, and before the Tribunal:³ a sacred Chariot⁴ and therein a frame carrying an Image, at the solemne pomp of his Games *Circenses*: Temples, Altars, his owne Images placed neere unto the Gods: a sacred Bed-loft for such Images to be bestowed upon:

¹ *i.* Censorship in deed though not in name.

² *Imperatoris, i.* Sovereaine and absolute commander.

³ In the forum.

⁴ A Chariot of Silver or Yvorie, with a frame in it sustaining the Images of the gods, which was drawn in most solemne and stately manner unto the Pulvinar, or place where certain rich beds were made for the said Images to be laid upon.

a *flamin*,¹ certaine *Luperci*:² and the denomination of one moneth³ after his owne name. Besides, no honourable offices there were but he tooke and gave at his owne pleasure. His third and fourth Consulship in name onely and title he bare: contenting himselfe with the absolute power of Dictatourship decreed unto him with his Consulares all at one time: and in both yeeres, he substituted two Consuls under him for the three last moneths: so as, in the meane time he held no Election of Tribunes and Ædiles of the Commons. In steed of Pretours he ordained Provosts, who should administer the affaires of the Citie even whiles he was present. And upon the very last day of the yeare, to wit next before the Kalends of Januarie,⁴ the place of a Consulship being vacant by the suddaine death of a Consull he conferred uppon one that made suite to enjoy the same but a few houres.⁵ With semblable licentiousnesse despising the custome of his Countrie, he ordained majestrates to continue in office many years together. To x. men of Pretours degree he graunted the Consulare Ornaments. Such as were but enfranchized Citizens, and divers mungrell Gaules no better then halfe Barbarians, he admitted Senatours.⁶ Furthermore, over the Mint and receipt of the City-renewewes, he set certaine peculiar servants of his owne to be rulers. The charge and commaund

¹ A certaine priest bearing the name of that god, for whose service he was instituted. Cicero saith that M. Antonius was Flamen to Julius Cæsar.

² *Luperci*, were certaine young men, who at the licentious feast, *Lupercalia*, instituted to the honour of Pan Lycæus, otherwise called Inuus, by Romulus and Remus, ran up and downe naked in the Citie of Rome. A new kind of these *Luperci* ordained Cæsar, of his owne name called *Juliani*. At this feast *Lupercalia*, M. Antonius played the part of a Lupercus, at which solemnitie, when Cæsar sat in a Throne of Gold, arrayed in a purple robe, the said M. Antonius attempted to doe upon his head the royall Band, called a Diademe. Cicero.

³ Whereas, before it was called *Quintilis*, he named it *Julius*.

⁴ The last of December.

⁵ Caninius Rebetus, the subject of divers jests.

⁶ Made free Citizens of Rome.

of three Legions which he left in Alexandria, he committed wholly to a sonne of Rufinus his freed man, a stale youth and Catamite of his owne.

Neither did some words of his which he openly delivered, bewraie lesse presumptuous Lordlines, as T. Ampius writeth. For example, That the Commonwealth was now no more any reall thing,¹ but a name onely, without forme and shape: That Sulla was altogether unlettered and no Grammarian, in giving over his Dictature.² The men ought now to speake with him more considerably, and to hold every word that he saith for a Law. Nay he proceeded to this point of Arrogancie, that when upon a time in a certaine Sacrifice, the South-sayer brought him word of unlucky Inwards in the beast, and such as had no heart at all, he made answeare and said, That those which were to follow afterwards should prove more joyfull and fortunate if it pleased him: neither was it to be taken for a prodigious and strange token, if a beast wanted an heart.

But the greatest envie and inexpressible hatred he drew upon himselfe by this occasion most of all. What time as al the Senatours in generall came unto him with many and those most honourable decrees, he received them sitting still before the Temple of Venus Genitrix. Some thinke that when he was about to rise up, Cornelius Balbus stayed and helde him backe: others are of the mind, that he never went about it. But when C. Trebatius advertised him to arise unto them,³ he looked backe upon him with a strang kind of looke: which deede of his was thought so much the more intollerable, for that himselfe, when Pontius Aquila on of the Colledge of Tribunes,⁴ stood not up nor did reverence to him as he rode in Tryumph and passed by the Trybunes Pues, tooke such

¹ According to Lucane, *Omnia Cæsar erat*. Cæsar was all in all.

² *Dictare*, i. to endite, or give precepts as Grammarians doe to their schollers, as also, to commaund absolutely.

³ Saying with all, What, Sir. Remember you are Cæsar.

⁴ Who were in number 10.

snuffe and indignation thereat, that he brake out aloud into these words: "Well done Tribune Aquila, recover thou then, the common-welth out of my hands:" and for certaine dayes together, never promised ought unto any man without this Proviso and Exception, "If Pontius Aquila will give me leave."¹

To this contumelious and notorious behaviour of his toward the Senate thus despised, he adjoined a deede much more arrogant: for when as in his returne from the solemne Sacrifice of the Latine Holie dayes, among other immoderate and new acclamations of the people, one out of the multitude had set upon his Statue, a Coronet of Laurell tied about with a white band;² and Epidius Marullus, a Tribune of the Commons together with his colleague Ceasetius Flavius commanded the said band to be plucked of, and the man to be had away to prison, he taking it to heart, either that this overture to a kingdome sped no better, or (as he made semblance and pretended himselfe) that he was put by the glorie of refusing it, sharply rebuked the Tribunes, and deprived them both of their authoritie. Neither for all this, was he willing afterwards to put away the infamous note of affecting and seeking after the title of a King: albeit he both made answere unto a Commoner saluting him by the name of a King, That he was Cæsar and no King: and also at the *Lupercalia*, when Antonius the Consul imposed the Diademe oftentimes upon his head before the *Rostra*, did put it backe againe,³ and send it into the Capitoll to Jupiter Optimus Maximus. Moreover sundrie rumors ran rife abroad, that he would depart (for ever) to Alexandria or to Ilium, having at once translated and remooved thither the puissance and wealth of the Empire: dispeopled Italie with mustering of

¹ Spoken by way of a scornefull *Ironia*.

² Resembling a Diademe.

³ Cicero in his second *Philippica* or invective against M. Antonius saith: Thou shewedest the Diademe. The people all over the common place gave a groane thereat. Thou were about to set it upon his head, to the great griefe and sorrow of the people, hee rejected it, with as great joy and applause of theirs.

soldiers; and withall betaken the administration of Rome-Citie unto his friends: as also, that in the next Session of the Senate, L. Cotta one of the Quindecimvirs¹ would move the house to this effect, That for as much as it was contained in the Fatall bookes of Sybilla, that the Parthians could not possible be vanished but by a King, therefore Cæsar should be stiled King.

This gave occasion to the Conspiratours for to hasten the execution of their designe, least of necessitie they should be driven to assent thereto. Their counsels therefore and conferences about this matter, which before time they held dispersed here and there, and projected oftentimes by two and three in a companie, they now complotted altogither, for that by this time the very people joyed not in the present state, seeing how things went; but both in secret and openly also distasted such soveraintie, and called earnestly for protectors and maintainers of their liberties. Upon the admission of Aliens into the order of Senatours, there was a libell² proposed in this form *Bonum Factum*,³ etc., That no man would shew the Senatours to any new Senatours. And these verses were commonly chaunted:

*Gallos Caesar in Triumphum ducit, Iidem in Curia
Galli Bracas deposuerunt, latum clavum sumpserunt.*

The French in triumph Ceasar leads, In Senate they anon
No sooner laid their Breeches of, but purpled robes put on.

¹ These *Quindecim-viri*, or fiteene men, were instituted in the dales of Cornelius Sylla with this addition *Sacrorum*: unto whose charge it appertained to see that Sacrifices and Divine service, that supplications, and processions, expiations, and ceremoniall rites should bee duely performed, as also to peruse the bookes and prophesies of Sibylla. At first they were but two, called *Duumviri*, afterwards x. under the name of *Decemviri sacris faciendis*.

² Or Bill.

³ A forme of preface which in olde time they use, *boni omnis causa*, before their Edictes and decrees, etc., so commonly, as that these two Capital letters B. F. did betoken the same as ordinarily, as S. C. stand for *Senatus consultum*. It had the same use, as *In nomine Dei* with us.

As Q. Maximus substituted (by Cæsar) to be a Consul for 3 Moneths entred the Theater, and the Sergant commanded (as the manner was) that the people should observe and regard him according to his place, they all with one accord cryed out, That he was no Consul. After that Cæsetius and Marullus the Tribunes aforesaid, were removed out of their office, at the next Solemne assembly, held for Election, verie many voices were found declaring them ii. Consuls. Some there were who subscribed under the Statue of L. Brutus these words, 'Would God thou were alive.' Likewise under the Statue of Cæsar himselfe,

Brutus for expelling the Kings, was created Consul the first.
This man for expelling the Consuls is become King, the last.

There conspired against him more than three-score, the heads of which conspiracie were C. Cassius, Marcus and Decimus Brutus; who having made doubt at first whether by dividing themselves into partes,¹ they should cast him downe the bridge, as he called the Tribes to give their voices at the Election in Mars felde, and so take him when hee was downe and kill him right out: or set uppon him in the high streete called *Sacra via*:² or else in the very entrance to the Theater; after that the Senate had summons to meete in Counsell within the Court of Pompeius upon the Ides of March,³ they soone agreed of this time and place before all others.

But Cæsar surely had faire warning of his death before it came, by many evident prodigies and strang foretokens. Some few moneths before, when certaine new inhabitants, brought by vertue of the Law Julia⁴ to dwell in the Colonie Capua, overthrew most auncient Sepulchers for to builde

¹ Some upon the bridge others under it.

² In which Cæsar dwelt after he had beene high priest.

³ 15 of March in honor of Anna Perenna. And because the plaies were exhibited in Pompeis Theatre. Therefore the Senate met also in his *Curia*.

⁴ Which him selfe promulged.

the houses to their landes; and did the same so much the more diligently and with better will, for that in searching they light upon manufactures and vessels good store of Antique worke: there was found in that verie monument, wherein by report, Capys the founder of Capua lay buried, a brasen Table with a writing upon it in Greeke words and Greeke letters to this effect: 'When the bones and reliques of Capys happen to be discovered, it shall come to passe, that one descended from Julus shall be murdered by the hands of his neere kinsfolke, and his death soone after revenged with the great calamities and miseries of all Italie.' And least any man should thinke this to be a fabulous tale and forged matter, know he that Cornelius Balbus a verie inward and familiar friend of Cæsar is the author thereof. And the verie day next preceeding his death, those troupes of horses which in his passage over the River Rubicon hee had consecrate and let go loose ranging here and there without a keeper, (as he understood for certaine), forbore their meat and would not to die for it, touch any, yea, and shed teares abundantly. Also, as he offered sacrifice, the Sooth-sayer Spurina warned him to take heede of danger toward him, and which would not be differred after the Ides of March, Now, the verie day before the said Ides, it fortun'd that as the birde *Regaliolus*¹ was flying with a little branch of Lawrell, into the Court of Pompeius, a sort of other birdes of diverse kindes from out of the grove hard by, pursued after and there pulled it in peeces. But that night next before the day of his murder, both himselfe dreamed as he lay a sleepe, one while, that he was flying above the clouds: another while, that Jupiter and he shooke hands: and also his wife Calpurnia, imagined, that the Finiall of his house fell downe, and that her husband was stabbed in her verie bosome: and sodainely, withall the chamber doore of it selfe flew open. Hereupon, as also by reason of sickelinesse, he doubted a good while whether he should keepe at home and put off those matters which he had purposed to debate before the

¹ Or Trochilus, thought to be the Wren, and is likewise named King of Birdes, ominous therefore unto Cæsar, seeking to be a king.

Senate, or no? At the last, being counselled and perswaded by Decimus Brutus, not to disappoint the Senatours who were now in frequence assembled and stayed for his coming long since, he went forth when it was well neere eleven of the clocke. And when one [Ovius] met him by the way, and offered him a written pamphlet, which layed open the conspiracie, and who they were that sought his life, he shuffled the same among other skroes and writings which he held in his left hand as if he would have red it anone. After this when he had killed many beasts for sacrifices and could speede of the Gods favour in none, he entred the Curia [of Pompeius] in contempt of all Religion; and therewith laughed Spurina to scorne: charging him to bee a false Prophet, for that the Ides of March were come: and yet noe harme befell unto him; albeit hee aunswered, That come indeede they were, but not yet past.

When they saw once that he had taken his place, and was set, they stood round about him as serviceable attendants readie to do him honor: and then immediately Cimber Tullus;¹ who had undertaken to begin first, stepped neerer unto him, as though he would have made some request. When Cæsar seemed to mislike and put him backe, yea and by his gesture to post him of unto another time, he caught hold of his gowne at both shoulders: whereupon as he cried out, 'This is violence,' Cassius² came in 2, full a front, and wounded him a litle beneth the throat. Then Cæsar catching

¹ Who before had beene his great friend and sided with him.

² This is diversly reported by authors. The occasion of which varietie ariseth upon the affinitie of these names, Cassius and Casca. For as there were two Cassii at this action, so likewise were there two Servilii brethren, both surnamed Casca. By Alter Cassius or Casca, therefore, you may understand one of the two brethren, or the second of them. For some write, that the one Casca gave him in the necke a wound, but not deadly, whereupon Cæsar caught hold of his dagger, crying out, *Scelerate Casca quid agis?* i. What meanest thou, O wicked Casca? and then Casca called unto his brother for helpe, who came in, and gave him his deatnes wound, in the breast under the chanell bone. Plutarch.

Cassius by the arme thrust it through with his stile or writing punches; and with that being about to leape forward he was met with another wound and stayed. Now when he perceived himselfe beset on everie side and assailed with drawne daggers he wrapped and covered his head with his gowne: but withall he let downe the large lap¹ with his left hand to his legges beneath, hiding thereby the inferiour part also of his bodie, that he might fall more decently: and so, with 3 and 20 wounds he was stabbed: during which time he gave but one grone, without any worde uttered, and that was at the first thrust; although some have written, that as M. Brutus came running upon him he said, *Kai su teknon; i.* 'And thou my sonne.'² When all others fled sundrie waies, there lay he a good while dead, until three of his owne pages bestowed him in a licter: and so with one arme hanging downe, carried him home. Neither in so many wounds, was there, as Antistius his Physitian deemed, any one found mortall, but that which he received second, in his breast. The conspiratours were minded to have dragged his Corps, after hee was thus slaine, into the River Tiberis; confiscated his goods, and repealed all his acts: but for feare of M. Antonius the Consul and Lepidus, Maister of the Horsemen, they held their hands and gave over those courses.

At the demand therefore of L. Piso whose daughter he married, his last will and Testament was opened and red in the house of Antonius: which will, upon the Ides of September³ next before, he had made in his owne house at Lavicium and committed to the keeping of the chiefe vestal Virgin. Q. Tubero writeth, that from his first Consulship

¹ Which they were wont to cast over their shoulders. Or tucke up slack above the wast.

² This may have reference to that which is reported before, how in his youth, he loved Servilia, the mother of this Brutus: for his age falleth out to agree fitly with that time: in so much as he was commonly thought to be a sonne of his. And yet this attribute *Fili*, may sort well with the familiaritie that was betweene them.

Some read *Kai su eis ekeinon, i.* And art thou one of them?

³ 13 of September.

unto the beginning of the Civill war, he was ever wont to write downe for his heire, Cn. Pompeius, and to reade the saide will unto his soldiers in their publike assemblie. But in this last Testament of his, he ordained three Coheires, the nephewes all of his sisters. To wit C. Octavius,¹ of three fourths parts, L. Pinarius, and Q. Pedius of on fourth part remaining. In the latter end and bottome of this Testamentarie Instrument, he adopted also C. Octavius into his house and name; and many of those that afterwards murdered him, he nominated for guardiers to his sonne, if it fortun'd he had any borne. Yea and Decimus Brutus to be one of his second heires in remainder. Hee bequeathed in his legacies unto the people his hortyards about Tiberis to ly common; and three hundred Sesterces² to them by the Poll.

The solemnitie of his Buriall being proclaimed, there was a pile of wood for his funerall fire reared in Mars field, neere unto the Tombe of Julia.³ Before the Rostra was placed a chappell all guilt resembling the Temple of Venus Genetrix, and within it a Bedsteed of Ivorie, richly spred with cloth of gold and purple, and at the head thereof a Tropee supporting the Robe wherein he was slaine. Now because it was thought, that those should not have day enough who came to his offerings and brought their oblations, commandement was given, that without observing the strict order,⁴ every man might bring which way and by what streete of the Cittie he would, his gift into Mars field above said. During the Games and playes then exhibited there were chaunted certaine verses fitly applyed as well to moove pittie

¹ Afterwards Augustus, sonne of Atia Julius Cæsars sisters daughter.

² 46s. 10d. ob. sterling.

³ His owne daughter, wife of Pompey, who died of childbirth, and by speciall privilege, was enterred in Mars field.

⁴ Which was, That the magistrates and Senatours shold go before without their badges and robes of dignitie: the knights and gentlemen follow in murning weed: then the soldiers, carrying the heads or points of their weapons downeward: last of all, the common people marshalled according to their Tribes.

MARK ANTONY DELIVERING CÆSAR'S FUNERAL
ORATION

From a painting by Joseph Desiri Court

"YOU ALL DO KNOW THIS MANTLE . . .

LOOK! IN THIS PLACE, RAN CASSIUS' DAGGER THROUGH;

SEE, WHAT A RENT THE ENVIOUS CASCA MADE:

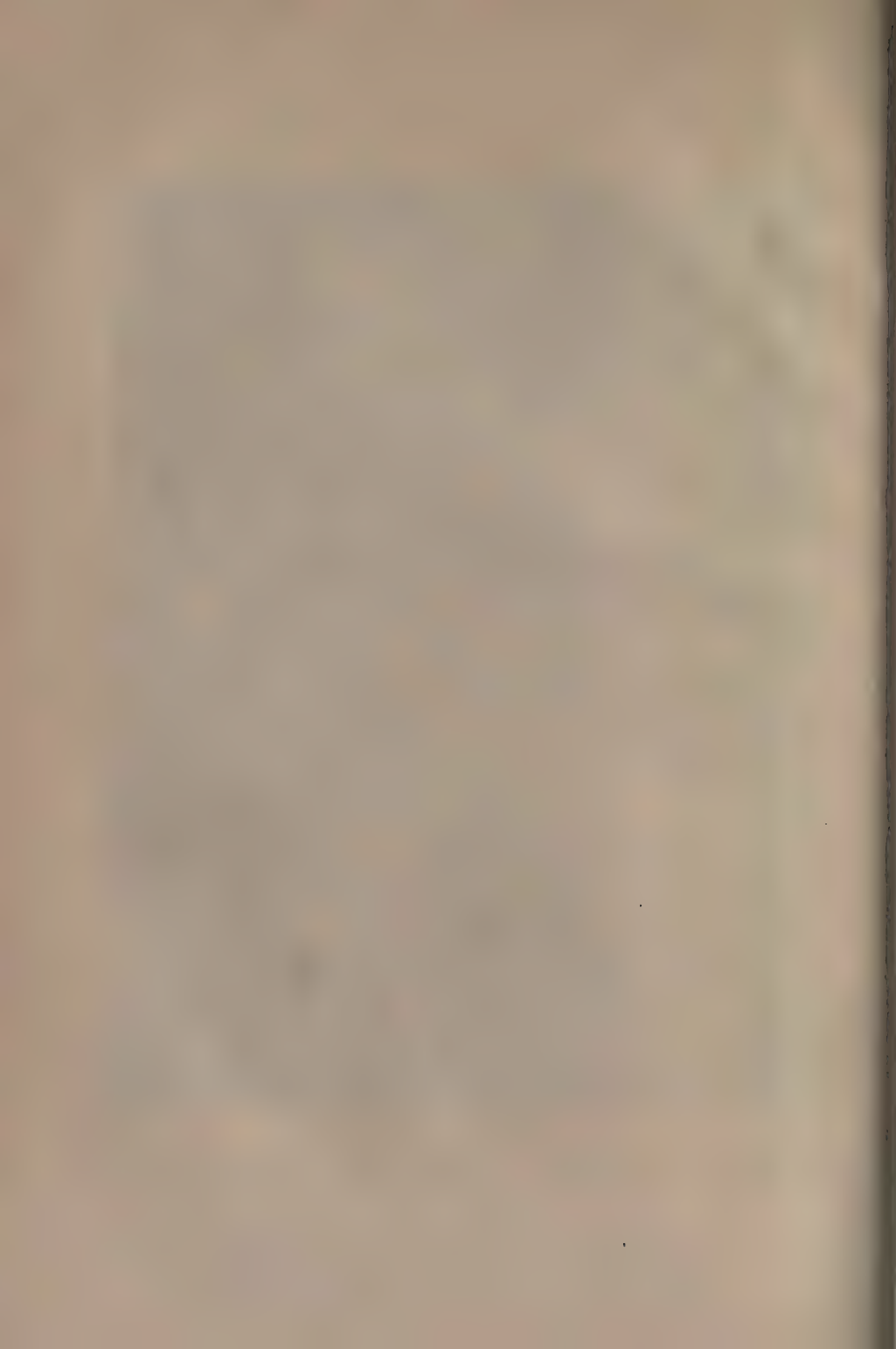
THROUGH THIS, THE WELL-BELOVED BRUTUS STABB'D,

AND, AS HE PLUCKED HIS CURSED STEEL AWAY,

MARK HOW THE BLOOD OF CÆSAR FOLLOWED IT . . ."

—Shakespeare. See Page 163.





as hatred withall of his death, and namely out of the Tragedie of Pacuvius, entituled, *The Judgment of Armour*.¹

Men' Men' servasse, ut essent qui me perderent?

'Alas the while, that I these men should save:
By bloody death, to bring me to my grave;²

as also another out of that of Accus³ to the same sence. Instead of a laudatorie oration, Antonius the Consul pronounced by the publike Crier, the Act of the Senate, wherein they decreede for him all honour, both divine and humaine: likewise the solemne oth wherewith they all obliged themselves to defend the life and person of him and none but him: whereunto he added some few words of his own. The fore saide Bed, the Magistrates for the time being, and such as had borne office of State alreadie, had conveyed into the forum before the Rostra; which when some intended to burn within the cell of Jupiter Capitolinus, others in the Court of Pompeius:⁴ all of a sodaine there were ii. fellowes with swords girt to their sides: and carrying ii. Javelins, who with light burning Tapers, set it on fire: and with that immediately the multitude that stood round about gat drie sticks together and heaped them thereupon, with the Tribunall seats and other pues, of inferiour Magistrats, and whatsoever beside was readie and next at hand. After them, the Minstrels and stage players disrobed themselves of those vestiments which out of the furniture of his Tryumphs they had put on for the present use and occasion, rent the same in peeces and flung all into the flaming fire. The olde Legionarie soldiers also did the like by their armour, wherein they bravely went to solemnize his funerall. Yea and most of the Cittie Dames did no lesse by their Jewels and Ornaments which they had about them: their childrens pendant brooches also and rich

¹ The argument whereof was the deciding of the contention betweene Ajax and Ulysses, about Achilles Armor.

² For some of these who took part with Pompeius, he had pardoned.

³ Or Atius, who wrote a Tragedie bearing the same title.

⁴ Where he was murdered.

coats embrodred and bordred with purple. In this exceeding sorrow and publike mourning, a number there were besides from forraine Nations; who everie one after their Countrie manner, lamented round one after another, by companies in their turnes: but above all other the Jewes:¹ who also for many nights together frequented the place of his sepulture and where his bodie was burnt.

The common people streight after his funerall obsequies went with burning fire-brands and torches to the dwelling houses of Brutus and Cassius: from whence being hardly repelled, they meeting with Helvius Cinna by the way, and mistaking his name, as if he had beene Cornelius Cinna (one who the day before had made a bitter invective as touching Cæsar and whom they sought for) him they slew: set his head upon a speare, and so carried it about with them. After this they erected in the Forum a solide Columnne almost 20 foote high, of Numidian Marble: with this title graven there-upon; *PARENTI PATRIÆ*. "To the father of his Countrie." At which piller for a long time they used still to sacrifice, to make vowes and prayers, to determine and end certaine controversies interposing alwaies their oth by the name of Cæsar.

Cæsar left behind him in the minds of certaine friends about him, a suspition, that he was neither willing to have lived any longer, nor cared at all for life: because he stood not well to health, but was evermore crasie: and thereupon neglected as well all religious warnings from the Gods, as also what reports soever his friends presented unto him. There be that thinke, howe trusting upon that last Act of the Senate, and there oth aforesaid, he discharged the Guard of Spaniards from about him, who armed with swords gave attendance upon his person. Others contrariwise are of opinion; that seeing as he did how he was forelaied on everie

¹ They affected Cæsar (it should seem) in regard to many benefits, and namely for bringing Pompeie to confusion who had forced their cheife Citie.

side, and confessing it were better once for all to undergoe those imminent daungers, than alwaise to stand in feare thereof, he was wont to say: It concerned not himselfe so much as it did the state, that hee should live and bee safe: as for him, he had gotten long since power and glorie enough: marie the Common-wealth (if ought but well came to him) should not bee at quiet, but incurre the troubles of Civill warre, the issue whereof would be farre worse then ever it had beene.

This one thing verily, all men well neere are agreed upon, That such a death befell unto him as himselfe in manner wished. For not onely uppon a time when he had read in Xenophon,¹ how Cyrus beeing at the point of death gave some order for his funerall, hee setting light by so lingering and slow a kind of death, had wished to die quickly and of a suddaine; but also the verie daie before he was killed, in a certaine discourse mooved at supper in Marcus Lepidus house uppon this point, What was the best ende of a mans life? preferred that which was sodaine and unlooked for.

He died in the 56 yeare² of his age and was canonized among the Gods, not onely by their voice who decreed such honour unto him, but also by the perswasion of the common people. For at those Games and playes which were the first that Augustus his heire exhibited for him thus deified, there shone a blazing starre for seven dayes together, arising about the eleventh houre of the day; and beleevéd it was to be the soule of Cæsar received up into heaven. For this cause also uppon his Image there is a starre set to the verie Crowne of his head. Thought good it was to damme up the Court where in hee was muredred:³ to name the Ides of March

¹ *Cyripædiæ*.

² Which is counted one of the Climacterich years, in which it falleth out that 7 is multiplid by 8, which two numbers, as Cicero hath observed, 6 *de Rep.*, be complete. A revolution fatal to Scipio Africanus the yonger, to Virgil also and Plinie.

³ Appian writeth, that it was in a sodaine uprore of the people burnt to the ground.

Parricidium,¹ and that the Senate should never meete in Counsell upon that day.

Of these murderers, there was not one in manner that either survived him above three years, or died of his naturall death. All stood condemned: and by one mishap or other perished: some by ship-wracke, others in battaile: and some againe, shortened their own daies, with the verie same dagger, wherewith they had wounded Cæsar.²

¹ To signifie, that upon that day, The father of his countrie was killed.

² Cassius: as Plutarch reporteth, and Brutus according to Dion, and the ii. Cascaes. A notable judgement of Almightye God upon the unnatural murderers of their Soveraine.

SUETONIUS

THE HISTORIE OF OCTAVIUS CÆSAR AUGUSTUS

IN the Prime and flower of his youth he incurred sundrie waies the infamous note of a vicious and wanton life. Sext. Pompeius railed upon him as an effeminate person. . . . Lucius, brother to M. Antonius, envied against him, . . . that hee was wont to sindge his legges with red hotte Walnutshels,¹ to the end the haire might come up softer. . .

That he was a common adulterer his verie friends did not denie: but they excuse him for sooth: saying, That he did it not upon filthy lust, but for good reason and in policy: to the end he might more easily search out the plots and practises of his adversaries, by the meanes of women and wives, it skilled not whose. M. Antonius objected against him, besides his over hastie mariage with Livia,² that he fetched a certaine Noble dame, the wife of one who had beene Consul, forth of a dining parlour, even before her husbands face, into his own bed chamber, and brought her thither backe again to make an end of the banquet with her haire all ruffled, even while her eares were yet glowing red: also that he put away Scribonia,³ because she was too plaine and round with him, upon grieffe she tooke, that a Concubine was so great and might do so much with him: as also that there were bargaines and matches sought out for him by his friends, upon liking: who stucke not to view and peruse both wives, and young maidens of ripe years, all naked, as if

¹ A kind of Psilothrum.

² Whome hee could not forbear, but mary when she was great with childe.

³ His owne wife.

Toravius the baud were a selling of them. Moreover he writeth thus much to himself, after a familiar sort, as yet being not fallen out flatly with him, nor a professed enemy: 'What hath changed and altered you? Is it because I lie with a Queene, she is my wife? And is this the first time? Did I not so 9 yeares since? Alas good sir, you that wold have me company with Octavia my wife onely, tell me true: know you for your part none other women but Drucilla? Go to: so may you fare well and have your health, as when you shall read this letter, you be not redy to deale carnally with Tertulla¹ or Terentilla, or Rufilla, or Salvia Titiscenia, or with all of them. And thinke you it skilleth not, where and whom you lust after and meddle with?'

Moreover, much talke there was abroad, of a certaine supper of his more secret, ywis then the rest, and which was commonly called *Dodecatheos*:² at which, that their sat guests in habit of Gods and goddesses, and himselfe among them adorned instead of Apollo: not onely the letters of Antonie, who rehearsed most bitterly the names of every one do lay in his reproach, but also these verses without an author so vulgarly knowne and rife in everie mans mouth:

*Cum primum istorum conduxit mensa Choragum,
Sexque Deos vidit Mallia, sexque Deas:
Impia dum Phæbi Cæsar mendacia ludit;
Dum nova Divorum cænat adulteria:
Omnia se a terris tunc numina declinarunt.
Fugit et auratos Iupiter ipse thronos:*

¹ Tertia, Terentia, Rufa: as lovers use to name their sweete hearts.

² Of twelve Gods and Goddesses together: alluding to those six select Gods, and as many Goddesses whom antiquitie in heathenesse honoured above the rest: whose names Ennius the Poet comprised in these two verses,

Juno, Vesta, Minerva, Ceres, Diana, Venus, Mars,
Mercurius, Jove, Neptunus, Vulcanus, Apollo.

Answerable to which number hee entertained sixe yong women attired like Goddesses, and six boyes in habit of Gods, as his guests at this supper. Augustus occasionally took the part of Apollo.

When first the table of these (guests) hired one the daunce to
leade

And mallia ¹ six Goddesses and Gods as many saw;
While Cæsar Phœbus conterfaites profanely, and in stead
Of supper, new adultries makes of Gods against all law;
All the heavenly powers then, from the earth their eies quite
turned away,
And Jupiter himselfe would not in gilt Shrines longer stay.

The rumor of this supper was increased by the exceeding
dearth and famine at that time in Rome: and the very next
morrow, there was set up this cry and note within the Cittie,
That the Gods had eaten up all the Corne: and that Cæsar
was become Apollo in deede, but yet Apollo the tortor:²
under which surname that God was worshipped in one place
of the Cittie. Furthermore, taxed hee was for his greedie
grasping after pretious house furniture and costly Corinthian
Vessels: as also for giving himselfe much to dice play. For,
as in time of the proscription, there was written over his
statue:

Pater Argentarius, Ego, Corinthiarius.

My father was a Banking-monie changer,
And I am now a Corinth-Vessell-munger.

Because it was thought he procured some to be put into
the bill of those that were proscribed, even for the love of
their Corinthian-Vesselles: so afterwards, during the Sicilian
warre, this Epigrame of him went currant abroad:

*Postquam bis classe victus naves perdidit;
Aliquando ut vincat, ludit assidue aleam.*

Since time he lost his ships at Sea in fight defaited twice;
That win he may sometime, he playes continually at dice.

Of these criminous imputations or malicious¹ slanders (I

¹ Some take this to be the name of one of the 6 goddesses guests:
or rather some dame that could skill in bring such together.

² Whipping and plauging the people with hunger, as he did.

wot not whether) the infamie of his unnaturall uncleannesse he checked and confuted most easily by his chast life both at the present and afterward. Semblably the invidious opinion of his excessive, and sumptuous furniture: considering, that when he had by force won Alexandria, he retained for himselfe out of al the kings household stuffe and rich Implements, no more but on cup of the pretious stone Myrrha: and soone after, all the brasen vessels which were of most use, hee melted everie one. Mary for fleshly lust otherwise and wantonnes with women he went not cleere, but was blotted therewith. For afterwards, also as the report goes, he gave himselfe overmuch to the deflowring of young maides whome his wife sought out for him from all places. As for the rumour that ran of his diceplaying he bashed no whit thereat: and he played simply without Art and openly for his disport, even when he was well stricken in yeares: and besides the moneth December,¹ upon other play dayes also, yea and worke daies too. Neither is there any doubt to bee made thereof. For in a certaine Epistle written with his owne hand: 'I supped,' quoth hee, 'my Tiberius with the same men: there came moreover to beare us companie these guests, Vini-cius, and Salvius the father. In supper time² we played like olde men, both yesterday and to-day. For when the dice were cast looke who threwe the chaunce, Canis or Senio, for everie die he staked and layed to the stocks a denier: which he tooke up and swooped all cleane, whose lucke it was to throw Venus.' Againe in another letter, 'We lived full merily, my Tiberius, during the feast *Quinquatria*.³ for, wee played everie day: we haunted I say and heat the dicing house. Your brother⁴ did his deede with many great shouts and outcries: howbeit, in the ende he lost not much: but after his great losses gathered uppe his crummes pretily well by little and little, beyond his hope and exspectation. I for my

¹ In which moneth the feast *Saturnalia* was kept, and much liberty tolerated of gaming, feasting and reveling.

² Betweene dishes or courses of services.

³ Certain festivall holidiaies held for five daies together in the moneth March to the honour of Minerva.

⁴ Drusus Nero.

part, lost 20000 Sesterces in mine owne name: but it was when I had beene over liberall in my gaming, as commonly my manner is. For, if I had called for those loosing-hands which I forgave my fellow gamesters, or kept but that which I gave cleane away, I had wonne as good as 50000 cleere. But I choose rather thus to doe. For my bountie exalteth me unto cælestial glory.' Unto his daughter thus he writeth, 'I have sent unto you 250 deniers: just so many as I had given to my guests a peece, if they would have played together in supper time, either at cockeall, or at even and odde.' For the rest of his life, certaine it is, that in everie respect he was most continent, and without suspition of any vice.

Hee dwelt at first, hard by the Forum of Rome above the winding staires Anulariæ, in an house which had been Calvus the Oratours: afterwards in the mount Palatium: howbeit in a meane habitation, belonging sometime to Hortensius, and neither for spacious receite nor stately setting out, and trim furniture, conspicuous: as wherein the galleries were but short, standing uppon pillers made of (soft) Albane stone: and the Refection Rumes without any marble or beautifull pavements. For the space of 40 yeares and more, hee kept on bedchamber winter and summer: and albeit hee found by experience the Cittie not verie holesome in the winter for his health, yet continually he winterd there: if hee purposed at any time to do ought secretly, and without interruption: hee had a speciall roome alone by it selfe aloft which hee called Syracuse.¹ Hither would hee withdrawe himselfe orderly, or else make a steppe to some Country house neere the Cittie, of one of his Libertines. Was hee sicke at any time? Then hee used to lie in Mæcnas his house. Of all his retyring places of pleasure, hee frequented these especially, that stood along the Maritime tract, and the Isles of Campania; or else the townes nere adjoyning to the Cittie of Rome, to wit, Lanuvium, Præneste and Tibur: where also

¹ Comparing it to that beautifull Citie in Sicily; and because it served his turne for meditations and inventions, he [also] gave it the name *Technophyon* [little workshop].

within the Porches of Hercules Temple, he sat verie often to minister justice. Large palaces and full of curious workes hee misliked: and verily, those that were sumptuously built he rased downe to the verie ground: his owne as little as they were, he adorned and beautified not so much with trim statues and gay painted Tables, as with open walks,¹ pleasant groves,² and such things, as for their antiquitie and rarenesse were notable: of which sort were at Capreæ the huge members of monstrous fishes³ and wilde beasts: the bones that are saide to bee of Gyants, and the armour of the demi-gods and worthies in olde time.

How slenderly provided he was of houshold stuffe and furniture otherwise appeareth by his dining pallets and tables yet remaining: the most part whereof be scarce answerable to the elegance of a meere private person. Neither slept he by mens saying otherwise than upon a lowbed,⁴ and the same but meanely spread and laid with Coverlets. He wore not lightly any apparell but of huswifes cloth, made within house; by his wife, his sister, his daughter and neipces. His gownes were neither streight and skant, nor yet wide and large. His Senatours robe neither with overbroad studs of purple guarded, nor with narrow. His shoes underlaide somewhat with the highest, that hee might seeme taller than hee was. As for the raiment which hee used abroad, and his shooes, hee had them at all times layed readie within his Bedchamber, against all suddaine occurrents and unlooked for occasions whatsoever.

He feasted daily: and never otherwise than at a set table: not without great respect and choise of degrees and persons. Valerius Messalla writeth, that hee never intertained any of his libertines at supper except Meanus, and him naturalized

¹ *Xystis*, admitting the winter sunne.

² For shade in Summer.

³ *Belluarum*, as whales, whirpooles, etc.

⁴ Not raysed uppe and swelling high with downe.

first,¹ even after the betraying of Sex. Pompeius; himselfe writeth, that he invited one, in whose ferme hee would make his abode, and who in times past had beene a Spie of his. Hee came to the bourde himselfe when he made a feast, sometimes very late, and otherwhiles left the same as soone: and then his guests would both fall to their suppers before he sat downe, and also continued sitting still after hee was gone. The suppers hee made consisted ordinarily of three dishes of meate and when hee would fare most highly of 6 at the most; and as he entertained his guests in no exceeding sumptuous manner, so he welcomed them with all the kinnesse and courtesie that might be. For he would provoke them, if they either sat silent or spake softly to the fellowshippe of discourse and talke: yea and interpose either Acroames² and players or else Triviall fellowes³ out of the Cirque, but most commonly these discoursing poore threedbare Phylosophers.

Festivall and solemne daies he celebrated sometimes with unmeasurable expenses, otherwhiles with mirth and sport onely: as the *Saturnalia*, and at other times when it pleased him, hee used to send abroad as his gifts, onewhile appaile, golde and silver: otherwhile mony of all stampes, even olde peecees currant in the Kings dayes, and strange coynes; sometime nothing but haire clothes, sponges, cole rakes, cizars and such like stuffe, under obscure and doubtfull titles symbolizing somewhat else. Hee was wont also to offer sale, by marting in the time of a banquet to his guesstes, of such thinges, as were in price most unequall,⁴ yea and to tender blinde bargaines unto them also of painted Tables, with the wronge side outwarde, and so by uncertaine venturinge uppon their happe, either to frustrate and disappoint, or fully to satisfie the hope of the Chapmen: yet so, as the cheapninge

¹ Restored to his blood and created a gentle man, for he was *Donatus aureis annulis ut inter ingenuos haberetur*. Dion.

² As minstrels, Musitians, Quiristers, etc.

³ As fortune tellers, juglers, Buffons, etc.

⁴ A kinde of Lotterie.

of the thinge should alwayes passe through everie bourde, and the losse or gaine growe to them all as common.

As touching diet (for I may not over passe so much as this) hee was a man of verie little meate, and feedinge for the most part grosse. Seconde breade¹ and small fishes: cheese made of cowes milke and the same pressed with the hand, and greene figges especially of that kinde which beare twice a yeere, his appetite served unto. His manner was to eate even just before supper, when and wheresoever his stomacke called for foode. His very wordes out of his owne Epistles shew no lesse, which are these: 'Whiles wee were in a British Waggon, wee tasted of bread and Dates.' Againe, 'As I returned homeward in my Lictor from the Palace, I eate an ounce weight of bread with a fewe hard coated Grapes.' And once more, 'The very Jewe, my Tiberius, observeth not his Fast upon the Sabbath so precisely, as I have this day: who in the baines, not before the first houre of the night was past, chewed two morsels of bread, even before I began to be anointed.' Upon this retchless neglect of diet, he used divers times to take supper alone, either before his other guests were set and fell to meate, or else after all was taken away, and they risen: whereas, at a full bourd he would not touch a bit.

Hee was by nature also a very small drinker of wine. Cornelius Nepos reporteth of him, that his usuall manner was during the time hee lay encamped before Mutina to drinke at a supper not above thrice. Afterwards, whensoever hee drankee most liberally hee passed not sixe Sextants;² or if hee went beyond, he cast it up againe. Hee delighted most in Rhetian wine; and seldome dranke hee in the day time.³ In steede of drinke hee tooke a sop of bread soaked in colde water; or a peece of Coucumber, or a young lectuce

¹ Or cheat.

² In all, at the most not above a good pint, or a small wine quart, called *Sextarius*, consisting of 18 ounces.

³ *Interdiu*, as we say, betwixt meales.

head, or else some new gathered apple, sharpe and tart,¹ standing much upon a winish liquour within it.

After his noones repast hee used to take his repose, and to sleepe a while, in his cloathes as he was, with his shooes on, stretching out his feete, and holding his hand before his eyes. After supper hee retired himselfe into a little Closet or Studie. And there continued hee by a candle farre in the night, even untill he had dispatched the rest of that daies businesse, either all or the most part. From thence, he went directly to his bed: where, hee slept at the most not above seaven houres: and those verily not together but so, as in that space of time hee would awake three or foure times: and if hee could not recover his sleepe thus broken and interrupted (as it happened otherwhiles), hee would send for some to reade or tell tales:² and by their meanes catch a sleepe againe, and drawe the same out often after day-breake. Neither would he ever lie awake without one sitting by his beds side. Much offended hee was with want of sleepe (or waking) early in a morning: and if hee were to bee awakened sooner than ordinarie, either about some worldly affaires of his friends, or service of the Gods, because hee would not prejudice thereby his owne good or health, hee used to stay in some of his familiar friends upper roomes and loft, next to the place where his occasions lay. And even so, many a time for want of sleepe, both as he was caried through the streetes, and also when his lictor was set downe, hee would betweene whiles take a nap and make some stay.

Hee was of an excellent presence and personage, and the same throughout all the degrees of his age most lovely and amiable; negligent though hee were in all manner of pikednesse, for combing and trimming of his head so carelesse, as that he would use at once many Barbers, such as came next hand, it skilled not whom: and one while hee clipped, another while hee shaved his beard; and yet at the very same time,

¹ *Acidum*, or *aridum*, *i.* dried, but yet of winish tast.

² Or, to hold him with talke.

he either read, or else wrote somewhat. His visage and countenance, whether he spake or held his peace, was so mild, so pleasant and lightsome, that one of the Nobles and Potentates of Gaule, confessed unto his Country-men, he was thereby onely staied and reclaimed, that he did not approach neere unto him, under colour of conference as hee passed over the Alpes, and so shove him downe from a steepe cragge to breake his necke, as his full intent was. Hee had a paire of cleere and shining eyes: wherein also, (as hee would have made men beleewe) was seated a kinde of Divine vigour: and hee joyed much, if a man looking wistly upon him helde downe his face, as it were against the brightnesse of the Sunne. But in his olde age he saw not very well with the left eye. His teeth grewe thinne in his head, and the same were small and ragged: the haire of his head was somewhat curled and turning downward; and withall of a light yellowe colour. His eye-browes met together: his eares were of a meane bignesse: his nose both in the upper part, bearing out round, and also beneath somewhat with the longest. Of colour and complexion, hee was betweene a browne and faire white. His stature but short: (and yet Julius Marathus his freedman writeth in the Histori of his life, that hee was five foote and nine inches high). But as lowe as the same was, the proportionable making and feature of his limmes hid it so, as it might not be perceived, unlesse he were compared with some taller person than himselfe standing by.

His body, by report, was full of spottes: having upon the brest and bellie naturall markes which hee brought with him into the worlde; dispersed, for the manner, order, and number, like unto the starres of the celestiall beare;¹ as also certaine hard risings of thicke brawnie skinne, occasioned in divers places by the ytching of his bodie, and the continuall and forcible use of the Strigil² in the Baines: which callosities resembled a Ringworme. In his left hucklebone, thigh

¹ Charlemaine his waine.

² Much like a curry comb.

and legge, hee was not very sound: in so much, as many times for grieve thereof he halted on that side: but by a remedie that he had of Sand and Reedes, he found ease and went upright againe.¹ Also, the fore-finger of his right hand hee perceived otherwhiles to be so weake, that being benumbed and shrunk by a crampe, upon some colde, he could hardly set it to any writing, with the helpe of an hoope and finger-stall of horne. Hee complained also of the grieve in his bladder, but voiding at length little gravell-stones by urine, he was eased of that paine.

All his life time hee tasted of certaine grievous and dangerous sicknesses, but especiallie after the subduing of Cantabria: what time, by reason of his liver diseased and corrupted by Destillations, hee was driven to some extremitie: and thereby of necessitie entred into a contrarie and desperate course of Physicke: for, seeing that hote fomentations did him no good, forced hee was by the direction and counsell of Antonius Musa his Physitian, to be cured by colde. He had the experience also of some maladies which come yeerely² and kept their course at a certain time. For about his birth-

¹ This infirmitie of his was a kinde of gout, which the Greeke writers call *Ischias*, and is commonly named *Sciatica*. As for the remedie or palliative cure rather (for easement of paine) with sand: it may be meant eyther of some fomentations with linnen bagges wherein was sand; for, Cornelius Cæsar writeth, that Millet seed, salt, and sand, or any of them put within a linnen cloath, and so applied to the affected place, cure the said disease: or of walking in sand by the sea side, or else of tumbling and wallowing therein: which remedie Q. Serenus Samonicus in this verse: *Nec non et tepidis convolvere corpus arenis*, etc., hath prescribed and experience verified. Both Dioscorides, and also Galene attribute unto the rinde or barke of Cane rootes, and to their ashes a desiccative vertue.

² Which the Greekes call *Periodicall*: as the Quartane Ague and other intermittent fevers be so termed, because their fits returne upon certaine daies. The falling sicknesse likewise, keeping time with the moone, whereupon some name it *Lunaticus*. And gouts, which are most busie in the spring and the fall, etc.

day,¹ most commonly he was sickish and had a faintnesse upon him: likewise in the beginning of the Spring,² much troubled hee was with the inflation of the midriffe and hypochondriall parts:³ and whensoever the winde was southerly, with the murr and the pose. By occasion whereof, his body beeing so shaken and crasie, hee could not well endure either colde or heat.

In winter time clad he went against the colde with foure coates, together with a good thicke gowne, and his Wast-coate or Peticoate bodie of woollen: well lapped also about the thighs and legges. During Sommer he lay with his bed chamber dores open, and oftentimes within a cloisture supported with pillers, having water walming out of a spring, or running from a spout in a Conduit; or else some one to make winde hard by him.⁴ Hee could not away so much as with the Winter sunne shine: and therefore even at home hee never walked up and downe in the aire without a broad brimd Hat upon his head. He travailed in a licter, and never lightly but in the night. The journeyes that he made were soft and small: so as if hee went from Rome but to Tibur or Preneste, he would make two daies of it. Could hee reach to any place

¹ Toward the end of September. An unequal season of the yeare, wherein commonly, the mornings and evenings be cold, and the Noone tides hotte, whereby many diseases are occasioned. But as touching the Birth-day heere mentioned, Valerius Max. and Plinie report, That Antipater Sidonius the Poet every yeare upon the day of his Nativitie onely felt the accesse of an Ague. Whereof he died in the end, after he had lived to a gret age.

² No marvaile if in cacochymicall bodies, such as his was, the humors which lay still and quiet all Winter, began to spread and swell in the spring, causing Distentions and Ventosities: especially in that place where they were gathered and laid up as it were in store, to doe a mischief when the time came.

³ Under the short ribs.

⁴ Now the manner of this winowing or making wind was for the better and daintier sort, with plumes of peacocks tailes, much like to the fannes of feathers used in these daies as well as in old time, but for the meaner, with beasts tailes.

by sea: hee chose rather to saile thither, than goe by land. But as great infirmities as he was subject unto, hee maintained and defended his body with as much care and regard of himselfe: but principally by seldome bathing:¹ for, anointed hee was very often and used to sweate before a light fire: and then upon it to be dowssed in water luke-warme, or else heated with long standing in the Sunne. And so often as he was to use the Sea waters hote, or those of Albula² for the strengthening of his sinewes, hee contented himselfe with this: namely to sit in a wooden bathing Tub, which himselfe by a Spanish name called *Dureta*, and therein to shake up and downe his hands and feet one after another, by turnes.

The exercises in (Mars) field of riding on horse-backe and bearing armes, hee laid aside immediately after the civile warres, and tooke himselfe, first, to the little tennis-ball,³ and the hand-ball blowne with winde.⁴ Soone after, he used onely to bee caried⁵ and to walke, but so as that in the end of every walke he would take his runne by jumpes, lapped and wrapped within a light garment called *Sestertius*⁶ or a thinne vaile and sheete of linnen. For his recreation and pastime, his manner was sometime to angle or fish with the hooke, otherwhiles to play with cockall bones, or trundling round pellets,⁷ or else with nuttes⁸ even among little boyes; whom hee would lay for, and seeke out from all parts, if they were

¹ In hot waters.

² Which naturally were hot standing upon a veine of brimstone.

³ Stuffed with haire. Of this ball, and the exercise thereof, Galen wrote a treatise.

⁴ By *Folliculus* is meant a kinde of wind hand-ball covered with lether: having within it a bladder puffed up with wind, the softest and lightest of all others, smitten, not with a racket as the other, nor with the palme of the hand, as that which they called *Paganica*, filled with woole, flocks of yarne, but driven with the clutched fist, whereupon it tooke the name *Pugillatoria*.

⁵ Either on horsebacke, or in a lictor.

⁶ Two foote and a halfe square.

⁷ [Marbles.]

⁸ [Which were tossed into a bowl.]

of an amiable countenance and could prattle pretily with a lovely grace, but principally those of the Moores and Syrians kind. As for Dwarfes, crooked and mishapen Elves and all of that sort, he could not abide such, as being the very mockeries of natures work, and of unlucky presage.

Eloquence, and other liberall professions he exercised from his very childhood right willingly, and therein tooke exceeding great paines. During the warre at Mutina, notwithstanding that huge heape of affaires and occurents, (by report) he read, he wrote, hee declaimed every day. For afterwards, neither in the Senate-house, nor before the people, ne yet to his souldiours made he ever speech, but it was premeditate and composed before: albeit hee wanted not the gift to speake of a sodaine and extempore. Now, for feare least his memorie at any time should faile him, least also he might spend too much time in learning by rote, hee began to reade and rehearse all out of his written copie. His very speeches also with folke by themselves, even with Livia his wife about any grave and serious matters were never but penned and put downe in writing: out of which hee would rehearse the same, that hee might not speake otherwise *ex tempore* or more or lesse than was meete. His pronounciation and utterance was sweete, carying with it a peculiar and proper sound of his owne: and continually he used the helpe of a Phonascus to moderate his voice: but sometimes when his throate was weakened, he delivered his orations to the people, by the mouth of a Crier.

Many compositions he made in prose, of sundry arguments. Of which he would reade some in a meeting of his familiars, as it were in an Auditorie: as namely a Rejoinder, called *Rescripta*, unto Brutus, against Cato.¹ Which volumes, when for the most part, hee had rehearsed, being now well stricken in yeeres and growing wearie, hee made over to Tiberius for to be reade through. In like manner hee wrote certaine Exhortations unto Philosophie, and somewhat of his

¹ *Uticensis*.

owne life: which hee declared in thirtie bookes, even unto the Cantabrian warre, and no farther. As for Poetrie hee dealt in it but superficially. One Treatise there is extant written by him in Hexametre verses, the argument whereof, is *Sicilie*, and so it is entituled. There is another booke also, as little as it, *Of Epigrammes*: which for the most part hee studied upon and devised whiles hee was in the Baines. For, having in a great and ardent heat begun a Tragædie,¹ when he saw his stile would not frame thereto and speede no better, he defaced and wiped it quite out. And when some of his friends asked him, How *Ajax* did? he answered, that his *Ajax* was fallen upon a Spunge.²

The Eloquence that he followed was of an Elegant and temperate kind: wherein he avoided unapt and unfit Sentences, as also the stinking savours, as himselfe saith, of darke and obscure words: but tooke especiall care how to expresse his minde and meaning most plainly and evidently. For the better effecting whereof, and because hee would not in any place trouble and stay reader or hearer, hee stucke not either to put Prepositions unto Verbes, or to iterate Conjunctions very oft: which being taken away breed some obscurity, although they yeeld a greater grace. As for those that affect new-made words, such also as use old termes past date, hee loathed and rejected alike, as faulty, both the sorts of them in a contrary kinde. Those he shooke up divers times, but especially his friend Mæcenus, whose *Murobrecheis cincinnos*,³ for these were his termes, he evermore curseth and taxeth, yea and by way of imitation merrily scoffeth at. Neither spared he so much as Tiberius for hunting otherwhiles after old words out of use, and such as be obscure and hardly understood. As for Marcus Antonius he rateth

¹ Called *Ajax*.

² Was wiped away or blotted out with a sponge: alluding to *Ajax* that fell upon his own sword: whereof Sophocles made a Tragædie entituled *Ajax*.

³ Curled lokes or feakes, glib and dropping againe with sweet balmes, to which Augustus compared Mæcenus his stile.

him as if he were frantick, for writing that which men may rather wonder at, than understand. And preceeding to mocke his lewd and unconstant humour in choosing a kinde of eloquence by himselfe, he added thus much moreover, 'And are you in doubt to imitate Cimber Annius and Veranius Flaccus,¹ so that you might use the wordes which Crispus Salustius gathered out of Catoes *Origines*?² or rather transfer the rolling tongue of Asiaticke Oratours,³ full of vaine words, and void of pithy sentences into our language and manner of speech?' And in a certaine Epistle, praising the ready wit of Agrippina his owne niece,⁴ 'But you have neede,' quoth hee, 'to endeavour that neither in writing nor in speaking, you be troublesome and odious.'

In his daily and ordinary talke certaine phrases hee had which hee used very often and significantly: as the letters of his owne hand writing doe evidently shew: in which, ever and anon, when hee meant some that would never pay their debts, he said. 'They would pay *ad Calendas Græcas*.'⁵ And when he exhorted men to beare patiently the present state what ever it was, 'Let us content ourselves,' quoth hee, 'with this Cato.' To expresse the speedy expedition of a thing done hastily, 'Quicker,' would he say, 'than Spargaes can be sodden.' Hee putteth also continually . . . for *simus*, *sumus*; and *domos*, in the genetive case singular for *domus*. And never used hee these two words otherwise, that no man should thinke it was a fault rather than a custome. Thus much also have I observed, especially in his manuscripts,

¹ As if he should say, 'Never a barrell better herring.' There was neyther of them better than other, as offending both waies.

² Censorius, who wrote a booke of Antiquities, so called.

³ Cacozele, Cimber, Atticus and Veranius, *Antiquarii*. So that, it was meere folly and vanitie to make any doubt, whether of them to imitate, being all starke naught.

⁴ By his daughter Julia, and M. Agrippa the mother of Caligula.

⁵ At the Greek Calends, *i.* at latter Lammas, for the Greeks had no Calends, no more than the Latines *Neomenias*, *i.* newe moones to begin their moneths with. And yet the word seemeth to be derived of *Kalo* in Greeke.

that he never cutteth a word in sunder: nor in the end of any rewes¹ transferreth the overplus of letters unto those next following, but presently putteth them downe even there underneath, and encloseth them (within a compasse line).

Orthographie, that is to say, the forme and precise rule of writing set down by Grammarians, he did not so much observe: but seemeth to follow their opinion rather, who thinke, Men should write according as they speake. For, whereas oftentimes he either exchangeth or leaveth cleane out, not letters onely but syllables also, that is a common error among men. Neither would I note thus much, but that it seemeth strange unto mee, which some have written of him, namely, that he substituted another, in the place of a Consular Lieutenant (as one altogether rude and unlearned) because hee had marked in his hand-writing, *ixi* for *ipsi*. And looke how often himselfe writeth darkly by way of ciphring, hee putteth *b* for *a*, *c* for *b*, and so forth after the same manner, the letters next following in steede of the former: and for *x* a duple *a a*.

Neither verily was he lesse in love with thee studie of Greeke literature: for, even therein also he highly excelled, as having beene brought up and taught under the professed Rhetorician Apollodorus of Pergamus. Whom beeing now very aged, himselfe as yet but young had forth of Rome with him to Apollonia. Afterwards, also when he was well furnished with variety of erudition and learning of Sphærus,² he entred into familiar acquaintance with Areus the Philosopher and his two sonnes, Dionysius and Nicanor: yet so, as for all that he neither could speake readily, nor durst compose any thing. For if occasion required ought, he drew it in Latine, and gave it unto another for to be translated into

¹ Or lines.

² This Sphærus was a deep Scholler and great Humanitian as we speake, and whom the Greekes call *Philologon*. Under him Augustus became *polumathēs*, *i.* skilfull in historie, antiquities, etc., like as, under Areus he learned philosophy.

Greeke [in Greeke]. And, as he was not altogether unskillfull in Poemes, so he tooke delight even in the olde Comœdie¹ also, which he exhibited oftentimes to be acted in publique solemnities. In reading over and perusing Authors of both Languages, hee sought after nothing so much as holosome precepts and examples, serving to publique or private use: and those, when he had gathered out of them word for word, hee sent either to his inward friends and domesticall Servitors, or to the Commaunders of armies and Governours of Provinces: or else for the most part to the Magistrates of the Citie, according as any of them needed admonition. Moreover, whole bookes he both read from one end to the other unto the Senate, and also published oftentimes to the people by proclamation: as namely, the Orations of Q. Metellus² touching the propagation and multiplying of children: those likewise of Rutilius concerning the model and forme of buildings:³ thereby the rather to perswade them, That hee was not the first that lookt into both these matters, but that their fore-fathers in old time had even then a care and regard thereof. The fine wits flourishing in his daies he cherished by all meanes possible. Such as rehearsed before him their Compositions he gave audience unto, courteously and with patience: not onely verses and histories, but orations⁴ also and dialogues. Mary, if any thing were written of himselfe, unlesse it were done with serious gravity and by the best, hee took offence thereat; and gave the Prætours in charge not to suffer his name to be made vulgar and stale, in the trivial contentions (of Oratours, Poets, etc.) when they were matched one with another.

¹ In this manner of Comedie the vices of men and women were represented and taxed upon the stage over-boldly, and plainly to their discredit. For which it grew to be offensive, and was laid away a long time.

² Who was Censor in his time, and perswaded in his orations that all men of what degree soever should be compelled to marie for procreation of children.

³ As wel to cut of the expenses of sumptuous ædifices as to prevent danger by Skare-fires.

⁴ Which were not so usually read and rehersed in open audience.

For Religious scrupulosity and Superstition, thus by heere-say hee stode affected. Thunder and Lightning hee was much affraide of: in so much as alwaies and in every place, he caried about him for a preservative remedie a Seales skinne:¹ yea, and whensoever he suspected there would be any extraordinarie storme or tempest, he would retire himselfe into a close secret roome under ground,² and vaulted above head: which hee did, because once in times past, he had beene frighted with a flash of lightning, crossing him in his journey by night.

As for dreames, neither his owne, nor other mens of himselfe, he neglected. At the battaile of Philippi, albeit hee meant not to step out of his pavilion by reason of sicknesse, yet went hee forth, warned so to do by the dreame of his Physitian. And it fell out well for him: considering that after his Campe forced and woon by the enemies, his lictor was in that concurse of theirs stabbed through and all rent and torne, as if hee had remained there behind lying sicke. Himselfe every spring was wont to see many visions most fearefull, but the same proved vaine illusions and to no purpose: at other times of the yeere he dreamed not so often, but yet to more effect. When as hee ordinarily frequented the temple dedicated to Jupiter the Thunderer in the Capitoll, he dreamed that Jupiter Capitolinus complained, How his worshippers were taken from him perforce: and that hee answered, Hee had placed Thundering Jupiter hard by him, in steede of a Porter:³ whereupon soone after hee adorned the Lanterne⁴ of that Temple with a Ringe⁵ of belles, because such commonly do hange at mens Gates.⁶ By occasion

¹ Or of a sea calfe, which as Plinie writeth checketh all lightnings.

² Plinie, lib. 2, cap. 55, *Nat. Hist.* writeth, that it never lightneth above five foot within the ground. Fearfull persons therefore thinke such deepe caves most safe.

³ Dore keeper.

⁴ Or top.

⁵ Or chime.

⁶ To raise the porters.

of a vision by night, he begged yearly uppon a certaine day mony of the people, and held out his hand hollow¹ to those that brought and offred unto him brazen Dodkins² or mites called Asses.³

Certaine foretokens and ominous signes he observed as unfallible presages, to wit, if in a morning his shoes were put one wronge, and namely, the left for the right, he held it unluckie: againe, when hee was to take any long journey by land or sea, if it chanced to mizzle of raine, hee tooke that for a luckie signe betokening a speedie and prosperous returne. But mooved he was especially with uncouth and supernaturall sights. There happened a date tree to spring forth betweene the very jointcs of the stones before his dore, which he remooved and transplanted in the inward court of his domesticall Gods; taking great care that it might get roote and grow there. Hee joied so much in the Iland Capreæ, the boughs of a very old holmetree hanging and drouping now for age down to the ground, became fresh againe at his coming thither, that he would needes make an exchang with the State of Naples, and in lieu of that Iland geve them Ænaria. Certaine dayes also hee precisely observed: as for example: hee would not take a journey any whither, the day after the *Nundinæ*,⁴ nor begin any serious matter uppon the *Nones* of a Moneth: herein verily avoyding and eschewing nought else, as he writeth unto Tiberius, but the unluckie ominousnesse of the same.⁵

¹ As beggars do.

² Or Peeeces worth ob. q.q.

³ By this custome and gesture, as the argument and circumstance of the place naturally importeth, he thought to intreat the goddesse Nemesis for to spare him: Nemesis I say, whom the Heathen imagined to attend with an envious eye, upon all excessive prosperitie. To avoid therefore adverse afterclaps, which this spitefull goddesse might bring upon him, unlesse they were pacified, Augustus thus debased himselfe superstitiously, and in some sort, seemed to abridge his owne felicitie.

⁴ [Monthly market days.]

⁵ *Nonis*, quasi, *non is*, which literally osseth as much as, You go not.

Of foraine ceremonies and religions, as hee entertained with all reverence those that were auncient, and whereof hee conceived good reason: so hee despised the rest. For having beene instituted and professed (in the sacred mysteries of Ceres) at Athens, when afterwards he sat judicially upon the Tribunall at Rome to here and determine a controversie as touching the priviledge of Ceres priests in Attica, and perceived that certaine points of great secrecie were proposed there to be debated: hee dismissed the assembly and multitude of people standing all about in the Court, and himselfe alone heard them plead the cause. But contrariwise, not onely when hee roade in visitation all over Ægypt, himselfe forbore to turne a little out of his way for to see Apis,¹ but also commended his nephew Caius, because in ryding through Jurie, he did not so much as once make supplication in Hierusalem.

The cause of his sickness he caught by a flux of the bellie. And for that time having coasted Campanie and made circuit about the Ilands next adjoyning, he bestowed also foure dayes within a retiring place of pleasure at Capreæ: where he gave his minde to all ease and courteous affabilitie. It happened as he passed by the Bay of Puteoli, certaine passengers and souldiers out of a ship of Alexandria, which then was newly arrived, all clad in white, dight also with garlands, and burning frankincense, had heaped upon him all good and fortunate words, chaunting his singular prayses in these terms, That by him they lived, by him they slayed, by him they enjoyed their freedome, and all the riches they had. At which, he tooke great contentment and was cheered at the heart: in-somuch as thereupon he divided to everie one of his traine about him 40 pieces of gold,² but he required an oath againe and assurance of ech one, that they should not lay out that monie otherwise than in buying the wares and commodities

¹ An Idoll resembling an Oxe, which the Ægyptians worshipped as a God of Serapis.

² Every such peece was worth fifteene shillings starling and better, answerable to our Spurre Roials.

of Alexandria. For dayes together that remained, among diverse and sundrie gifts, he distributed among them over and above, gownes and clokes, with this condition, that Romans should use the Greekish habite and speake likewise Greeke; the Greekes also weare Romaine attire and use their language. He beheld also continually the youthes exercising themselves (of whome their remained yet some store at Capreæ) according to the auncient custom,¹ And even unto them he made a feast in his owne sight, permitting them or rather exacting of them, their olde libertie of sporting, of snatching appels and cates, and of skambling for such small gifts and favours as were sent or skattered abroad. In one word, he forbare no manner of mirth and pastime. The Isle hard by Capreæ, he called Apragopolis, of the Idlenesse of such as out of his traine retired themselves thither. . . .

Soone after he crossed over to Naples, albeit even then his guts were greatly enfeebled and the disease grew variable: yet for all that, the Quinquennal Gymnick games² instituted in the honor of him, he beheld to the very end, and so together with Tiberius went to the place appointed. But in his return from thence, his disease increased more and more, so as at length he yeilded to it, at Nola: where, having sent for Tiberius and called him backe from his journey, he held him a great while in secret talke; neither from that time framed he his minde to any greater affaire.

Uppon his dying day, enquiring ever and anone, whether there was as yet any turre and tumult abroad as touching him? hee called for a mirror, and commanded the haire of his head to bee combed and trimmed: his chawes³ also readie for weaknesse to hang or fall, to be composed and set straight. Then having admitted his friends to come unto him, and asked of them whether they thought he had acted well the Enterlude

¹ Of the Greeks who sometime inhabited those parts.

² Celebrated everie five yeares after the Græcian manner.

³ Or chaps.

of his life? he adjoynd with all this finall conclusions,¹ for a Plaudite,

Now clap your hands and all with joy resound a shout.

After this he dismissed them all, and whiles hee questioned with some that were new come from the Cittie, concerning the daughter of Drusus then sicke, sodainely amidst the kisses of Livia, and in these words he gave up the ghost, 'Live mindfull Livia of our wedlocke, and so farewell.' Thus died he an easie death and such as he had ever wished to have. For lightly, so often as he heard of any body to have departed this life quickly and without all panges, he prayed unto God, that hee and his might have the like Euthanasia, for, that was the verie word he was wont to use. One signe onely and no more he shewed of a minde disquieted and distracted, before he yeelded up his vitall breath: in that he suddainely started as in a fright and complained, That hee was harried away by 40 tall and lustie younge men. And even that also was rather a pregnant presage of his minde, than a raving fitte and idle conceit of light braine. For so many souldiers they were indeede of the Prætorian bande, who carried him forth (dead) into the streete upon their shoulders.

¹ As the manner is at the ende of Comædies to call for a Plaudite: hee persisted therefore in the metaphor, and by this plaudite, allegorizeth the end of this life, which hee called before *Mimum vitæ*, [Farce of Life].

SUETONIUS

THE HISTORIE OF TIBERIUS NERO CÆSAR

THE death of Augustus hee [Tiberius] divulged not abroad, before that young Agrippa was slaine. This Agrippa was killed by a militarie Tribune, set and appointed to guard him, so soone as hee had read the writ, whereby hee was commaunded to doe the deede. This writ, whether Augustus left behind him when hee died, thereby to take away all matter that might minister tumult after his death: or whether Livia in the name of Augustus endited it, and that with the privity of Tiberius, or without his knowledge, it resteth doubtful. Certaine it is, that when the saide Tribune brought him word, that the thing was dispatched which he had commaunded, he made answere, That he gave no such commaundement, and added moreover, That he should answere it before the Senate: declining no doubt the envie and hard conceit of men for the present: for within a while after he buried the matter in silence.

Having nowe assembled the Senate by vertue and authority of his Tribuneship, and begun to make a speech¹ unto them by way of consolation: all on a suddaine, as unable to maister his grieffe, he fell into a fit of sighing and groaning: yea he wished, that not onely his voice, but his vitall breath also might faile him: and therewith gave the booke unto his sonne Drusus to read it out. After this, when the last will or testament of Augustus was brought in, and none of the witnesses admitted to come in place, but those onely who were of Senatours degree, the rest standing without the *Curia* and there acknowledging their hands and seales, hee caused it to be read and pronounced by his freed man. The will began in

¹ Which hee had penned.

this manner: 'For as much as sinister fortune hath bereft me of Caius and Lucius, my sonnes, I will that Tiberius Cæsar be mine heire, in the one moiety and a sixth part.'¹ By which very beginning, their suspition was augmented who thought thus, that seeing he forbare not after this sort to make his preface, hee ordained Tiberius to be his successour upon necessity, rather than any judgement and discretion.

Albeit hee made no doubt to enter upon his imperiall government immediately and to menage the same, and that by taking unto him a strong guard of Souldiours about his person, that is to say maine force and the very forme of absolute rule and dominion: yet notwithstanding, he refused it a long time: and putting on a most impudent and shamlesse mind, one while he seemed to rebuke his friends that encouraged him thereto, as those who knew not, what a monstrous and untamed beast an Empire was: and otherwhile with ambiguous answeres and crafty delaies holding the Senate in suspence when they besought him to take it upon him, yea and humbly debased themselves before his knees: in so much as some of them having their patience moved therewith, could endure him no longer: and one among the rest in that tumult cried aloude, 'Let him either doe it at once, or else give over quite'; and another openly to his face upbraided him in these words, Whereas other men be slacke in doing and performing that which they have promised, he was slacke in promising that which hee did and performed. In the end, as if forsooth he had beene compelled, and complaining withall, that there was imposed upon his shoulders a miserable and burdensome servitude, he tooke the Empire upon him: and yet no otherwise, than giving hope, that one day he would resigne it up. His very words are these, 'Untill I come unto that time, wherein yee may thinke it meete to give some rest unto mine aged yeeres.'

The cause of this holding of and delay that he made, was the feare of imminent dangers on every side, in so much as

¹ That is to say, in 8 parts of twelve, or 2 third parts.

he would often say, Hee held a Woolfe by the eares. For there was one of Agrippaes slaves named Clemens, who had levied and gathered together no small power, for to revenge his Maisters death: and L. Scribonius Libo, a noble man, secretly complotted sedition and rebellion: yea, and a two-fold mutinie of the Souldiours arose, in Illyricum and in Germanie. Both the armies called hard upon him for performance of many matters extraordinarily: but above all, that they might have equall pay with the Pretorian souldiours.¹ And as for the Germanician² souldiours, they verily refused him for their Prince and Sovereigne, as not by them ordained: and with all their might and maine urged Germanicus who then was their Generall to take upon him the government of the State, albeit he withstood and denied them stoutly. Fearing therefore the issue and danger of this occurrent most of all, he required for himselfe to have that part of the Common-weale in charge, which it should please the Senate to lay upon him: seeing that no man was sufficient to weld the whole, unlesse he had another or many assistants rather joyned with him. Hee feigned himselfe also to be sickly, to the end that Germanicus might with the better will and more patience abide in expectance either of speedy succession after him, or at least waies of fellowship in the Empire with him. Well, after hee had appeased those mutinies, Clemens likewise by a fraudulent wile he overraught, and brought to his devotion. As for Libo, because he would not be thought at his entrance newly into the Empire for to proceede rigorously, two yeeres after and not before he charged and reproved him before the Senate, contenting himselfe all that meane space to beware of him onely, and to stand upon his guard. For, as the said Libo was together with him among other Pontifices sacrificing, hee tooke order, that in steed of the (yron) cleaver, there should be closely laid for him a chopping-knife of lead: and when the same Libo re-

¹ The Princes Guard.

² As an Armie lying encamped or in Garrison, in Germanie, is properly called *Germanicus*, so the Soldiours of the said Armie be fitly named *Germaniciani*.

quested upon a time to have secret talke and conference with him, he would not graunt it, without his sonne Drusus might be by: and so long as he walked up and downe with Libo, he seemed to leane upon his hand; and so, held it sure enough all the while untill their communication was ended.

But being once delivered from this feare he caried himselfe at the beginning very orderly and after a civill sort, yea and somewhat under the port of a private person. Of very many dignities and those right honourable, which by publike decree were presented unto him, he accepted but few, and those of the meanest kind. His birth-day-mind, falling out in the time of the Plebeian games and plaies exhibited in the Cirque, hee hardly would suffer to be celebrated and honoured so much as with the addition extraordinarily of one chariot drawne with two Steedes. Hee forbad expresly, any temples, Flamins or Priests to be ordained for him, yea and the erection of Statues and images in his honour, without his leave and permission: the which ranne with this onely clause and condition, That they should not be set up among the images of the Gods, but stand with other ornaments of the house. Hee prohibited also by his negative voice the solemne oath of observing and keeping his Acts inviolably: as also to call the moneth September,¹ Tiberius; or October,² Livius. The forename also in his stile of Imperator;³ the surname like-

¹ Or November rather, for in it hee was born, of his own name.

² Or September, of his mothers.

³ It is to be noted, that the name of *Imperator* in the Roman Historie is taken three waies: First, for him, who by commission or warrant from the State, hath the conducting of an Armie: and in this sense, it hath relation to Souldiers, and is all one with Lord Generall of the field, or a commaunder, etc., and the same that *Prætor* was in olde time. Secondly, for a Victor or Conquerer, namely when such a Generall or chiefetaine hath by martial prowesse atchieved many valiant exploits, and put to sword such a number of enemies, as the law setteth downe. For then the souldiers were wont to salute him by the name *Imperator*, i. Conquerour. Lastly for a Sovereigne Prince, King and Monarch. In the first acceptation, it is a meere Relative, in the second a surname, in the

wise of *Pater Patriæ*: as also a Civick Coronet¹ at the fore gate or porch of his Palace he refused. Nay, the very name of Augustus, hæreditarie though it were, he would not put as an addition to any of his Epistles, but those onely which he sent unto Kings and great Potentates. Neither bare hee more than three Consulships: the first but a few dayes; the second three moneths: the third in his absence no longer than unto the Ides of May.²

Hee detested flattery and obsequious complements so much, as that hee would admit no Senatour to his Lictor side either by way of dutiful attendance, or otherwise about any businesse whatsoever. When a certaine Consulare³ person was about to make satisfaction unto him, and humbly to entreate and crave pardon by a reverent touching of his knees, he started and fled from him so, as hee fell therewith and lay along upon his backe.⁴ Yea, and that which more is, if in any talke or continued speech there passed words of him smelling of flatterie, hee would not sticke to interrupt the speaker, to checke him, and presently to alter and correct such termes. One there was who called him *Dominus*, that is, Sir,⁵

third and last, the forename of all the Romane Emperours, to wit, from Julius Cæsar forward. Who although they wore not the Crowne and Diademe, were neverthesse absolute Princes, Soveraignes, Kings and Monarches. The want of this distinction may breed some trouble in the readers of the Romane Historie.

¹ Made of Oke branches, or in default thereof, of some other tree bearing mast: which garland by the first institution, was given to that souldier, who in battell had rescued a Citizen of Rome and saved his life. And afterwards, it, together with the Laurell, beautified the gates of the Cæsars Palaces, although some of them were bloodie Tyrants, and made no spare of their citizens and subjects lives.

² From the Calends or first day of January to the 15 of May.

³ One who had beene Consull: Tacitus saith, it was Quintus Haterius.

⁴ Whereby, the said Q. Haterius had like to have beene killed by the guard.

⁵ Or Lord.

but hee gave him warning not to name him any more by way of contumely. Another chaunced to say, His sacred businesses: and a third againe, That he went into the Senate, *auctore se, i.* by his warrant or authoritie. Hee caused them both to change those words, and for *auctore* to say *Suasore*, that is, by his advise and counsell: and in steede of Sacred, to put in, Laborious and painfull.

Moreover, against railing taunts, bad reports and rumours, as also slaunderous libels, verses and songs cast out either of himselfe or those about him, he stooode so firme and patient, as that ever and anone he would give out, That in a free state, folke ought to have both tongue and thought free. And when upon a time the Senate called earnestly unto him, That such crimes, and the offenders themselves, might be brought judicially into question. 'Wee have not,' quoth hee, 'so much leasure as to entangle our selves in many affaires. If yee open this window once, yee will suffer nothing else to be done: for under pretence heereof yee shall have the quarrels of every man preferred unto you.' There is besides a passing civill Apophthegme¹ of his extant which hee uttered in the Senate. 'If so be, quoth he, 'that hee speake otherwise of mee than well, I will endeavour to give an account of my deedes and wordes, but in case hee continue so still, I will hate him for it againe.'

And these things were so much the more remarqueable in him, for that in speaking to them [The Senatours] either one by one severally, or to all at once in generall, yea and in reverencing them, himselfe exceeded in a manner the measure of all humanity. When he dissented one day in opinion from Q. Haterius in the Senate: 'Pardon mee, I beseech you,' quoth hee, 'if I as a Senatour shall speake ought over-frankly against you': and then directing his speech unto the whole house: 'Both now,' quoth hee, 'and many times else, my Lords, this hath beene my saying, That a good and gracious

¹ Such as might beseeeme one Citizen to speake of another, and not a Prince of his subjects.

Prince, whom yee have invested in so great and so absolute a power, ought to serve the Senate and all the Citizens generally: often times also, yea and for the most part, every of them particularly. Neither repent I that I have said, for I have ever found you, and doe so still to be my good, my gracious and favourable Lords.’

Furthermore, he brought in a certaine shew of the common Libertie, by preserving entier for the Senate and Magistrates, both their auncient majestie and also their authority: neither was there any matter so small or so great, pertaining to publique or private affaires, but proposed it was at the Counsell-table before the Senatours: as namely, about Tributes, Customes and Revenewes of the State: of Monopolies: of building and repairing any publique works: of enrolling or discharging Souldiours: of setting downe the number as well of Legions as of auxiliarie forces. Finally, who should have their place of commaund and government continued by a new commission: or take the charge of extraordinary warres: as also what, and in what forme they thought it good to write againe, and to answere letters sent by Kings. A certaine Capitaine over a cornet¹ of horse-men, being accused for an outrage and for robberie, he compelled to make his answere before the Senate.² Hee never entred the *Curia* but alone. And being one time brought in sicke within his litter, he caused all his traine and company to void.³

That some Decrees were enacted against his minde and sentence, hee never once complained, nor found himselfe grieved. Notwithstanding hee opined, that Magistrates ap-

¹ Or wing.

² Whereas by course he shold have had his triall before the Lord General, or prince himselfe.

³ The manner was, if Prince or Senatour were caried in his Litter, usually supported by eight bond-servants, and thereupon called *Octophoron*, to have a companie of Citizens in their gownes going before, and accompanying him by his side, as also certaine servitours to carlie his curule chaire of ivory behinde.

pointed to any charge, ought not to bee absent; to the end that by their presence they might the better intend their function and calling: yet one Pretour elect, obtained the favour of a free embassage.¹ Again, when he advised in the Otriculunes² behalfe a graunt, that they might bestowe the money in paving a cawsie or high-way, which was by legacie given to the building of a new Theater: hee could not prevaile but that the will of the Testator should stand and be fulfilled. When it fortun'd upon a time that an Act of the Senate should passe by going to a side, and himselfe went over to the other part where the fewer in number were, there was not one that followed him. Other matters also were handled and debated by the Magistrates and the ordinarie course of lawe, and not otherwise: wherein the Consuls bare so great sway and authority, that certaine Embassadors out of Africk repaired unto them for dispatch, as complaining that they were put-of and delayed by Cæsar unto whom they had beene sent. And no mervaile: for evident it was, that himselfe also would arise up unto the saide Consuls and give them the way.

Hee rebuked Generalls of Armies even such as had beene Consuls for not writing unto the Senate of their warre exploits: also for consulting with him and asking his advise as touching the graunt of militaire gifts,³ as if it lay not in their owne power to give and dispose all. Hee commended a Pretour for bringing uppe againe the auncient custome, in the entraunce of his government, to make an honourable mention and rehearsall of his Auncestours before a frequent assembly of the people. The funerall obsequies of certaine Noble personages, he accompanied with the common multitude to the

¹ This free embassage, called *Libera legatio*, was granted many times to such, as being desirous eyther to travell and see forraine countries, or to fly, for avoiding of daungerous troubles at home: thereby to be better intertained abroad, and with the more honest colour, to conceale the occasion of their departure, and absence as if they were sent from the state, about the affayres onely of Commonweale.

² Or Trebians.

³ As collars, Cheines, speares, chaplets, etc.

very fire. The like moderation he shewed in meaner persons and matters both. When hee had called foorth unto him the Magistrates of the Rhodians, for delivering unto him publike letters from the State without the due subscription,¹ he gave them not so much as one hard worde but onely commanded them to subscribe and sent them away. Diogenes the professed Grammarian, who was wont to dispute and discourse at Rhodes every Sabbath,² had put him backe and would not admit him into his schoole comming of purpose extraordinarily to heere him, but by his page posted him of until the 7 day. Nowe when the same Diogenes stood waiting before his gate at Rome to doe his dutie and to salute him, he quit him no otherwise than thus, namely by warning him to repaire thither againe 7 yeares after. When the presidentes and governours abroad gave him counsell to burden the provinces with heauey tributes and taxes he wrote backe unto them, That it was the part of a good shepheard to sheare his sheepe and not to slay them.

By little and little he put himselfe forth and shewed his princely majesty; how ever for a long time, in some variety, yet for the most part, rather mild and gracious than otherwise, and more inclined to the good of the common wealth: and at the first, thus far forth onely interposed he his absolute power and inhibition, That nothing should be done unjustly.³ Therefore he both repealed certaine constitutions of the Senate, and also very often, when the Magistrates were sitting judicially upon the Bench, to decide matters, he would offer himselfe to joyne as it were in counsell, and to be assistant with them, or else just over against them in the fore part (of the Tribunall). And if the rumour went that any defendant were like by favour to escape cleere, all on a sodaine, he would be in place, and either on the ground below,

¹ It appeareth by Dion, that they had omitted to subscribe the clause which went in this forme, *Vota facimus pro te, Imperator, i. We make our vowes (and pray) for thee O Emperour.*

² Once a weeke or every 7 day.

³ Beside the rule of law.

or else from the Tribunall seat of the L. chiefe Justice, put the other Judges and Jurie in mind of the lawes, of their conscience and religion, and of the crime whereupon they sat. Also if any thing were amisse and faultie in the publike ordinances and manners of the Cittie, forlet by occasion of idlenesse or taken up through evill custome, he undertooke to reforme the same.

He abridged and restrained the expenses of Stage playes and games exhibited unto the people, by cutting short the wages paied to Actours uppon the stage, and reducing the couples of sword fencers to a certaine number. That Corinthian vessels and manufactures grew to an exceeding high rate, and that three barbels were sold for 30000 sesterces, he grievously complained, and gave his opinion, that there should be a gage set, and a mediocritie kept in household furniture: as also that the price of victuals in open market should be ordred yeerly at the discretion of the Senate, with a charge given unto the *Ædiles* for to inhibite victualling houses, tavernes, and thus farre forth, as they should not suffer any pastry-workes to be set out to sale^a: and to the end, that by his owne example also, he might put forward the publike frugalitie, himselfe at his solemne and festivall suppers caused oftentimes to be served up to the bord, Viands dressed the day before and those halfe eaten alreadie, saying, That the side of a wild Bore had in it all the same that the whole. He forbade expressly by an Edict, the usuall and daily kisses commonly given and taken: likewise the intercourse of new yeares gifts sent to and fro: namely, that it should not continue after the Calends of Januarie. He had wont to bestow for his part a new yeares gift foure fold worth that which he received, and to give the same with his owne hand: but being offended that a whole moneth together hee was in his other affaires troubled with such as had not beene with him, nor felt his liberalitie uppon the verie feast, hee never gave any againe after the saide day.

Wives of leawd and dishonest life, if ther wanted accusers to call them publicly into question, his advise and sentence

was, that their next kinsfolke should, *more maiorum*,¹ agree together in common, for to chastice and punish. He dispensed with a gentleman of Rome for his oath (who had sworne before, never to divorce his wife) and gave him leave to put her away, being taken in adulterie with her sonne in law. Certaine women infamous for whoredome and filthinesse, began to professe before the Ædiles bawderie: to the ende, that having by this base trade and occupation lost the right priviledge and dignitie of matrones, they might delude the lawes and avoide the penalties thereof.² Semblably, out of the youth of both degrees,³ the leawdest spendthrifts of all other, because they would not be liable to an Act of the Senate in that behalfe, for performing their parts in acting upon the stage, or their devoir within the lists, wilfully underwent the ignominious note of infamie.⁴ But, as well them, as those light women aforesaid he banished all: that none ever after should by such delusion of the law seeke evasion. He tooke from a Senatour his robe, after he knew once, that just before the Calends of Julie⁵ hee remooved out of his dwelling house into certain Hortyardes and gardens,⁶ to the end that when the said day was past, he might

¹ According to the maner and custome of their auncestours.

² Diverse Statutes there were sharpely punishing the adulterie of Matrones or married wives. An Act likewise passed in the Senate, that no Person of Knights degree or above, should play upon the stage, performe sword-fight, or combat with wild beastes for hire. Providing all to preserve the honour of wedlocke entire, and to maintaine the reputation of Knighthood and Nobilitie. Those shameless dames therefore, of whom Suetonius writeth in this place, eyther because they would be thought unworthie to be reckoned within the censure of Law, or as Tacitus writeth, deemed to have abidden punishment enough in making profession of so base a trade and life: these lewde persons likewise, and unreclaimable unthrifths suffering themselves thus to appeare noted with infamie, and that upon record, made accompt, both the one and the other not to be obnoxious or liable unto the statutes and acts aforesaid.

³ As well Senatours as gentlemen.

⁴ By committing some leawd parts.

⁵ [Moving Day in Rome.]

⁶ Without the Cittie.

take his house againe within the Citie at a lower rent. Another he deprived of his Questureship for that having (as it were) by lotterie, chosen and married a wife the one day, he dismissed her on another.¹

All foraine ceremonies in Religion: the Ægyptian also and the Jewish rites he prohibited: compelling those who were given to that Superstition,² for to burne all their religious vestiments: the instruments likewise and furniture what so ever thereto belonging. The serviceable youth of the Jewes, under colour of a militarie oth he sent into sundrie provinces which were in a pestilent and unhol-some aire above others: the rest of that Nation or such as were addicted to the like religion, he banished out of Rome, upon paine of perpetuall bondage if they obeyed not. He expelled also Astrologers: but upon their earnest intreatie and promise to give over the practise of that Art, he permitted them there to remaine.

A speciall care he had to keepe the peace, and to preserve the state from outrage and robberies, as also from licentious mutinies and seditions. The set guards and garisons of soldiers, hee disposed thicker than the wonted manner was, throughout all Italie. Hee ordained a standing Campe at Rome, wherein the Prætorian Cohorts wandering up and downe before that time and dispersed in diverse Innes and Hostelries, might be received. All Insurrections of the people he punished most sharply; hee tooke likewise much paines to prevent such commotions. There happened upon some discord and variance to be a murder committed in the Theatre: but the principal heads of the faction, as also the actours themselves for whose sake the quarrel and fray began, he exiled: neither could he ever be brought for any prayer and intreatie of the people to revoke and restore them. When the Commons of Pollentia would not suffer the dead corps of a cer-

¹ i. The morrow: his levitie was notable as well in making choise so slightly, as in casting her of so quickly, making but a game of mariage.

² Romaine Citizens.

taine principall Centurian to be carried with funerall obsequies out of their market place, before they had forcibly extorted out of his heires hands a peece of money to the setting out of a game of Fencers with unrebatd swords, he tooke one Cohort from Rome, and another out of K. Cotius¹ Kingdome, dissimuling the cause of this journey, and sodainely discovering their armes and weapons which they closely carried, and giving alarum with sound of trumpets, all at once he put them into the Towne with banner displayed at sundrie gates and so cast into perpetuall prison the greater part of the Commons and Decurions.² The priviledge and custome of Sanctuaries, where ever they were, he abolished. The Cyzicenes who had committed some notorious out-rage and violence upon Romaine Citizens, he deprived generally of their freedom, which in the warre against Mithridates they had by their good service gotten. The rebellions of enemies he repressed: not undertaking therefore, any expedition afterwards himselfe, but by his lieutenant onely: and not by them verily without lingering delayes, and driven thereto of necessitie. Kings that rebelliously tooke armes, or were suspected to breake out, hee kept downe with threats rather and complaints, than otherwise by force and open hostilitie. Some of them, whome hee had trained out of their owne Realmes unto him with faire name Maraboduus the Germaine, Thrasypolis a Thracian: words and large promises hee never sent home againe: as by and Archelaus the Cappadocian, whose kingdome also he reduced into the forme of a province.

For two yeares together after he came unto the Empire, hee never set foote once out of Rome gates. And the time ensuing, hee absented not himselfe in no place unlesse it were in townes neere adjoyning, or as farre as Antium when he travailed farthest: and that was verie seldome and for a few dayes: albeit he promised and pronounced openly oftentimes that hee would visite the provinces also and armies abroad: yea and everie yeare almost hee made preparation for a jour-

¹ A petie king about the Alpes.

² Senatours, or Aldermen.

ney, taking up all the waines and wagons that were to be gotten, and laying provision of Corne and victuals in all the good Burroughes and Colonies by the way, yea and at the last suffered vowes to be made for his going forth and returne home: in so much as commonly by way of a jest and byworde, hee was called Callippides, who in a Greeke proverbe is noted to bee alwaies running, and yet never gaineth ground one cubit forward.

But being bereft of both his sonnes, of which Germanicus¹ died in Syria, and Drusus² at Rome, he withdrew himselfe into Campania, as to a retyring place: and all men well neere, were fully perswaded and spake it as constantly, that he would never returne but die soone after. Both which had like indeede to have come to passe. For, in truth he never came againe to Rome: and within some few dayes, neere unto Tarracina, in a certaine part of his mannour house (built especially for his owne lodging), and called Spelunca, as hee sat there at supper, a number of huge stones from above chaunced to fall down: whereby many of his guesstes at the Table and servitours there waitinge were crushed and squized to death; but hee himselfe beyonde all hope escaped.

Having made his progresse over Campania, when he had dedicated a Capitol at Capua, and the Temple of Augustus at Nola, which hee pretended to have beene the motive of his journey, he betooke himselfe to Capreæ, delighted especially with that Iland because there was but one way of accesse unto it and the same by a small shore and landing place: as being otherwise enclosed round about, partly with craggy rockes and steepe cliffes of an exceeding height, and in part with the deepe sea. But soone after, when the people called him home, and uncessantly besought him to returne, by occasion of an unhappie and heavy accident, wherby at Fideny xx thousand folke³ and more, at a solemn fight of sword players perished

¹ Adopted.

² Naturall.

³ Strangers that conflowed thither to see the showes.

by fall of an Amphitheater, he passed over into the maine and firme land, permitting all men to come unto him: the rather, for that when he first set forth and went out of Rome, he had given streight commandement by an Edict that no man should trouble him, and all the way voided as many as were coming towards him.

Being retired againe into the said Isle, he cast aside all care verily of Common weale; so farre forth as never after he did so much as repaire and make up the broken decuries of horse men: hee chaunged no militarie Tribunes nor Captaines: no nor any presidents and Governours of Provinces. He held Spaine and Syria both, for certaine yeares, without Consulare Lieutenantes: hee neglected Armenia and suffered it to bee overrunne and possessed by the Parthians; Mæsia to be wasted and spoyled by the Dakes and Sarmatians, as also Gaule by the Germanes, to the great shame and no lesse daunger of the whole Empire.

To proceede, having now gotten the libertie of this secret place, and being as one would say remooved from the eyes of people: at length hee poured foorth and shewed at once all those vices which with much a do for a longe time he had clokod and dissimuled. Of which I will particularize and make relation from the very beginning. In the Campe when hee was but a newe and untrained souldier, for his excessive greedinesse of wine bibbing, hee was for Tiberius named Biberius;¹ for Claudius, Caldus; for Nero, Mero. After being Emperour, even at the very time when hee was busie in reforming the publike manners and misdemeanour (of the Cittie) he spent with Pomponius Flaccus and L. Piso one whole night and two dayes in gluttonie and drunkennesse, unto the former of these twaine he presently gave the governement of the province Siria: uppon the other hee con-

¹ Biberius, *a bibendo*, *i.* of drinking. Calius, *a Calda*, or *Calida*, *i.* hote. Mero of *Merum*, *i.* strong wine. An elegant Agnomination: whereby is shewed, that he loved to drinke wine hote, which is right delicate, and goeth downe more merily.

ferred the Provostship of Rome, professing even in all his letters and writings, That they were most pleasant companions and friends at all assaies. To Sex. Claudius a *senex* fornicatour and prodigal dingthrift, who had in times past been by Augustus put to ignominie and shame, yea and by himselfe some fewe dayes before rebuked before the Senate, he sent word, that hee would take a supper with him: upon this condition, that he altered nothing, nor left ought out of his ordinarie and customed manner; and namely, that wenches all naked should serve at the Table. He preferred one to be a competitour for the Questorship, who was a most base and obscure person, before others that were right noble gentlemen: onely for carousing and drinking up at a banquet, a whole Amphor¹ of wine when he dranke unto him. Unto Asellius Sabinus he gave 200000 Sesterces for a dialogue of his making, in which he brought in a combate or disputation, betweene the Mushrome, the Ficedula,² the Oister, and the Thrush. To conclude, he instituted a new office, forsooth, a *voluptatibus*,³ wherein he placed Priscus a gentleman of Rome, and one who had beene Censor.

But during the time of his private abode in Capreæ, he devised a roome with seates and benches in it, even a place of purpose for his secret wanton lusts. . . . Hee had bed chambers besides, in many places, which he adorned with tables and petie puppets: representing in the one sort, most lascivious pictures, and in the other as wanton shapes and figures. He stored them likewise with the bookes of Elephantis: that none might be to seeke for a patterne of the semblabe forme and fashion, in that beastly businesse performed in everie kind. He devised in the woods also and groves here and there, certaine places for lecherie and venereous Acts: wherein he had within caves and holow rockes youthes of both sexes standing a receit readie prostitute, in habit of Paniskes and Nymphes; in so much as now men in open place, abusing

¹ A rundlet of ten wine gallons well neere.

² A Bird that feedeth upon figges, whereupon it took the name.

³ For the devising of newe pleasures, etc.

the vulgar name of the Iland, termed him usually, Capri-neus.¹

He incurred yet the infamie of greater and more shamefull filthinesse, such as may not well be named or heard, and much lesse beleaved. . . . And verily, both by nature and for his yeares, more prone he was and given to lust in this kind. Therefore, whereas a certaine painted table of Parrasius making, (in which [was pourtraied] that beastlinesse) was given unto him as a legacie: upon condition, that if he were offended with the argument or matter represented therein, he might in lieu thereof receive a millian of Sesterces, hee not onely preferred the saide picture before such a summe of monie, but also dedicated it in his owne bed-chamber. . . .

Being a very niggard of his purse, and one that would part with nothing, he never maintained those of his traine in all his journies and expeditions with any wages or set salaries, but found their meate and victuals onely: yet must I needes say, that once out of his father in lawes Indulgence and bounty, he bestowed upon them a peece of liberalitie: when having raunged them according to the worthinesse of everie one into three rankes, he dealt among those of the first 600000 sesterces: of the second 400000: of the third 200000. And the same called he the companie, not of his friends but *Gratorum*, i. of his thankfull favourits.

All the whiles he was Emperour, neither built he any stately workes: (for the verie temple of Augustus, and the reedification of Pompeius Theatre which onely and none else he had undertaken, after so many yeares he left unfinished) nor exhibited so much as one solemne shew unto the people: and at those which were by any other set out, he was very seldome present; and all for feare least some thing should

¹ Alluding partly to the Isle Capræa, and in part eyther to *Capra*, in Latin, a goat, or to *Kapros* in Greek, a wild bore, and that member *Quo viri sumus*.

be demanded at his hands: and namely after that he was compelled once to manumise the Comædian Actius. Having releevd the want and povertie of some Senatours, because he would not helpe more of them, he denied to succour any other than those, who alledged before the Senate good and just causes of their necessities. By which deede of his, he frighted the most part upon a modestie and bashfulnesse in them: and among the rest, one Irtalus, the nephew of Q. Hortensius the professed Oratour, who being of a very meane estate had begotten foure children, by the meanes and perswasion of Augustus.¹

As touching his publike munificence, he never shewed it but twice: once, when he purposed and published a free lone for 3 yeares of an hundred millions of Sesterces: and againe, when unto certaine Land-lords of faire houses and tenements, which situate upon mount Cælius were consumed with fire, he restored the full price and worth of them. One of these Boones he was forced to grant, by reason that the people in great want of monie called earnestly for his helpe: what time as by vertue of an Act of Senate hee had ordained, That Usurers should lay out two (third) parts of their Stock in lands, tenements and appurtenances immoveable:² the Debtours likewise make present payment of two parts of their debts; and yet the thing was not done and dispatched accordingly,³ the other, for to mitigate the greivousnesse of those heavie times.⁴ Howbeit this (later) beneficence of his he so highly prised, that he commaunded the name of Mount Cælius to be changed and called Augustus. The Legacies given by Augustus in his last will unto the Souldiours being once published, he never after bestowed any Largesse upon them: saying that among those of the Prætorium [Guard] hee dealt

¹ He had married a young wife upon hope of maintenance by vertue of the lawes Papia, Poppœa, and Julia.

² That therby their money might come abroad.

³ i. Debts paid.

⁴ For then it was that xx thousand were killed at Fideney by the fall of a Theater.

one thousand Deniers a peece; in and to the Legions in Syria certaine gifts for that they alone among all their Ensignes in the field honoured no image at all of Sejanus.¹ Moreover, he made very seldome any discharges of olde Souldiours:² as expecting upon age their death, and by death gaping for some gaine and vantage. Neither succored he the very Provinces with his bountiful hand, except it were Asia, by occasion that certaine Cities therein were by earthquake overthrowne.

Afterwards, and in processe of time he gave his mind wholly even to rapine and plaine pillage. It is for certaine knowne, that Cn. Lentulus the Augur, a man of exceeding great wealth, for very feare and anguish of mind was by him driven to a loathing and wearinesse of his owne life; and at his death to make no other heire but himselfe. That dame Lepida likewise, a right noble Lady was condemned by him, to gratify Quirinus,³ one that had beene Consull, but passing rich and childlesse⁴ withall: who having before time put her away beeing his wedded wife, twenty yeeres after called her judicially into question, and laid to her charge, that long agoe she had bought and provided poison for to take away his life. Besides, as well knowne it is, that certaine Princes and Potentates of Gaule, Spaine, Syria and Greece, forfeited their estates upon so slight a slaunder and impudent imputation, that against some of them nought else was objected but this, that they had part of their substance and wealth lying in money:⁵ yea and that many Cities and private persons lost their auncient immunities and priviledges, as also their right in mines and mettals, Tolls and customes: and finally that Vonones a King of the Parthians who beeing driven out of his kingdome by his owne subjects, retired himselfe with an huge masse of Treasure into Antiochia,

¹ As of their Generall.

² With allowance of lands, fees or yearely Pensions for their service.

³ Her husband.

⁴ And therefore he hoped to be his heire.

⁵ More than by law they might.

under the protection, as it were, of the people of Rome, was perfidiously stript out of all and killed.

The hatred that hee bare to his kinsfolke and neere Allies, hee bewraied, first in his brother Drusus by disclosing a letter of his: wherein hee dealt with him about compelling Augustus to restore the common Libertie: afterwards, in others also. As for his wife Julia, so farre was he from shewing any courtesie or kindnesse unto her when she stooode confined (which had beene the least matter of a thousand) that whereas by an Ordinance of her fathers, shee was shut up within one Towne, hee gave straight order that shee should not steppe out of doores, and enjoy the Societie of people and worldlie commerce: nay, hee proceeded so farre, as to bereave her of that little stocke and householde-stuffe which her Father allowed her: yea, and defrauded her of the yeerely Pension and exhibition for her maintenaunce: and all, forsooth, under a colour of common right and law, because Augustus in his last will and testament had not expressly provided in this behalfe. Being not able well to endure his mother Livia, as chalenging to her selfe equall part with him in power and authority, hee avoided both to keepe ordinary and daily company, and also to entertaine long speech or secret conference with her; because hee might not be thought ruled and directed by her counsailes; which otherwhiles notwithstanding he was wont both to stand in neede of, and also to use. Semblably, he tooke to the very heart the passing of this Act in the Senate, 'That in his stile as he had the title, sonne of Augustus, so this addition should runne withall sonne of Livia.' And therefore it was, that he would not suffer her to be named *Parens Patriæ*,¹ nor to receive any remarkable honour in open place and by publike decree. Oftentimes also he admonished her to forbear intermedling in greater affaires, and such as were not meet for women; especially after he perceived once, that when the Temple of Vesta was on fire, she also came thither in person among others, and there encouraged the people and souldiours

¹ Mother of her Country.

both, to doe their best and help all what they could, as her manner was to doe in her husbands dayes.

By these degrees he proceeded even to secret rancour and malice against her, but chiefly upon this occasion, as men report. She had been very earnest with him many a time to enrole one in the Decuries of the Judges who was made free Denizen and Citizen of Rome: but he denied flatly to choose and admit the party, unlesse it were upon this onely condition, That she would suffer a clause to be written and annexed to the Instrument or Roll, in these words, 'This graunt was by my mother wrung and wrested from me.' Whereat she highly displeased and offended, brought forth out of her Closet and Cabinet certaine old letters of Augustus (written) unto her, as touching his perverse, bitter and intollerable manners; and those she openly read. He againe tooke the matter so greivously, that she had both kept those writings so long by her, and also cast them in his dish so spitefully, that some thinke this was the greatest cause of his departure from the Citie. And verily, for the space of three yeeres compleat, during which time hee was absent and his mother living, hee sawe her but once: and that was no more than one day, and very fewe howers of the same. And afterwards as little minde hee had to be by her lying sicke: and when shee was dead, suffering her corps by staying so long above ground (whiles men hoped still of his comming) to corrupt at length and putrifie: after shee was enterred, he forbad that she should be canonized and registred in the Catalogue of Saints: pretending as if she her selfe had given that order. Her will hee annulled, all her friends and familiars, even those unto whom upon her deathbed she had committed the charge of her Funerals, within a short time he persecuted and plagued, yea and one of them, to wit, a worshipfull Gentleman of Rome, he condemned to the pump.¹

Of his two sonnes, hee loved neither Drusus that was by nature, nor Germanicus by adoption, as a father should doe,

¹Or wheele and bucket.

as taking offence at the vices of the one.¹ For Drusus was of an effeminate minde; given to a loose and idle life. Therefore was not Tiberius so neerely touched and grieved for him beeing dead; but presentlie after his funerall, returned to his ordinarie and accustomed businesse prohibiting vacation of Justice to continue any longer. Moreover, when the Ilien-sian Embassadours came somewhat with the latest to comfort him, he, (as if now by this time the memorie of his sorrow had beene cleane worne out,) scoffed at them and made this answere, That hee likewise was sorie in their behalfe for the losse they had of Hector, so noble and brave a Citizen. As for Germanicus, he depraved and disgraced him so, as that not onely he did extenuate and diminish all his worthy exploits as mere vaine and needlesse, but also blamed his most glorious victories, as daungerous and hurtfull to the Commonwealth. Also, for that without his advice, hee went unto Alexandria, (by occasion of an extreame and suddaine famine) hee complained of him in the Senate: yea, and it is verily beleaved, he was the cause of his death, and used the meanes of Cn. Piso, Lieutenant of Syria; who soone after beeing accused of this crime, would (as some thinke) have uttered abroad those directions and warrants that hee had so to doe: but that Sejanus secretly withstood it. For which, Tiberius was oftentimes and in many places much blamed, and in the night season commonly called upon with this crie and note, *Redde Germanicum*, i. 'Give us Germanicus againe.' The suspition whereof himselfe afterwarde confirmed and made good, by afflicting in cruell manner the wife also and children of the said Germanicus.

Furthermore, his daughter in law² Agrippina, for complaining over-boldly of him after the death of her husband, he tooke by the hand, and recited unto her a Greeke verse to this effect. 'If thou hast not soveraine Rule and Dominion,' quoth he, 'thinkest thou prety daughter that thou art

¹ Of Drusus.

² Germanicus his adopted sonnes wife, and daughter to Agrippa and Julia.

wronged?’ and so vouchsafed her no speech at all after. Also, because upon a time, when shee durst not at supper tast of those appels which he had reached unto her, he forbare to invite her any more; pretending, that she charged him with the crime of attempting her with poison: when as in deede, it was of purpose plotted and packed aforehand, both that himselfe should by the offering of such fruit tempt her, and she againe beware most present and assured death. At the last, having untruly accused her, as if shee minded to flie one while to the Statue of Augustus, and another while to the Armies, hee confined and sent her away to the Isle Pandataria; and as shee railed at him, hee by the hands of a Centurion with whipping and lashing her over the face stricke out one of her eyes. Againe, when as shee was fully determined to pine her selfe to death: hee caused her mouth perforce to bee opened, and meate to be crammed into her throte: yea, and after that by continuance in this minde shee consumed quite away and died in the end, hee inveighed against her in most odious and reproachfull termes: having opined first in the senate, that her birth-day also should bee reckoned among the dismall and unlucky dayes. Furthermore, he expected thankses, as for an high favour done unto her, in that hee strangled her not before with a cord, and so flung her to the [*Scalae*] *Gemoniæ*,¹ and in regard of such a singular clemencie as this, hee suffred a Decree to passe, That thankses should bee given unto him, and a Present of Golde consecrated unto Jupiter Capitolinus.

Whereas by Germanicus he had three nephewes, Nero, Drusus and Caius; by Drusus one, to wit Tiberius, when he was left destitute and fatherlesse by the death of his children, the two eldest sonnes of Germanicus, namely Nero and Drusus, he recommended to the LL. of the Senate; and celebrated the day of both their Commencements with giving a Congiarie² to the people. But no sooner understoode he, that

¹ A place at Rome upon the Aventine hill, into which the dead bodies of malefactors were dragged and throwen.

² Or Largesse.

upon New-yeeres-day there had beene publique vowes made by the Citie for their life also and preservation, but he gave the Senate to understand, That such honours ought not to be conferred upon any persons, but those that were experienced and farre stept in yeeres. Thereby, having discovered the inward character and canker of his hart, from that day forward hee exposed them to the slaunders and imputations of all men: when also, by sundry subtile devises hee had wrought so, that they might bee both provoked to give railing taunts, and also beeing so provoked come to mischief and destruction, he accused them in his letters, heaped most bitterly upon them hainous reproaches, caused them to be judged enemies to the State, and so hunger-starved them to death; Nero, within the Isle Pontia, and Drusus at the very foote and bottome of Palatium. Men think that Nero was driven to worke his owne death,¹ what time as the Hangman, as sent by a warrant from the Senate, presented unto him halters and hookes.² As for Drusus, kept he was from all foode and sustenance: in so much as hee gave the attempt to eate the very flockes that stuffed the mattrese whereupon hee lay: and the reliques³ of them both, were so dispersed and scatted abroad, that hardly they could be ever gathered together.

Over and above his olde friends and familiars, hee had demaunded twenty out of the number of the best and principall Citizens, as Counsailours and Assistants unto him in publique affaires. Of all these, hee could hardly shewe twaine or three at the most alive: the rest, some for one cause and some for another he brought to confusion and killed: among whom (with the calamity and overthrow of many more) was Ælius Sejanus, whom hee had to the highest place of authoritie advaunced, not so much for any good will, as to be his instrument and right hand, by whose ministerie and fraudulent practises he might circumvent the children of Germanicus, and so establishe as heire apparent in

¹ To famish his owne selfe wilfully.

² To strangle him, and drag him to the *Scala Gemoniæ*.

³ Bones and ashes which was done by him of spight.

succession of the Empire the Nephew he had by Drusus, as his naturall sonne.

No milder was he one jote unto the Greeke Professours and Artists, living and conversing daily with him, and in whom hee tooke most contentment. One of them named Zeno, as hee reasoned and discoursed very exactly of a question he asked, What harsh dialect that was, wherein he spake? and when hee answered, It was the Dorick, he confined him for his labour into Cynaria, supposing that he twitted and reproached him for his olde vacation and absence from Rome because the Rhodians spake Dorick. Semblably, whereas his manner was out of his owne daily readings, to propound certaine questions as hee sate at supper: having intelligence, that Seleucus the Grammarian enquired diligently of his Ministers and Servitours, what Authors at any time hee had in hand, and so came prepared to assoile the saide questions, first hee forbad him his house and ordinarie Societie, afterwards hee forced him even to death.

His cruell, close and unpliable nature was not hidden, no not in his verie childhood: the which Theodorus Gadaræus his teacher in Rhetorick, seemed both at first to fore-see most wisely, and also to expresse and resemble as fitly, when by way of chiding and rebuke hee called him ever and anone *Pelon Haimati Pephuramenon*; i. clay soaked in blood.¹ But the same brake out and appeared somewhat more, when he became Emperour, at the very beginning: what time as yet he lay for to win the love and favour of men, with a pretence of civill moderation. A certaine Buffoon there was, who as a Funerall passed by, had willed the party whose body was carried forth,² to report unto Augustus, That his Legacies were not yet payed and delivered, which hee had left for the Commons of Rome. Him, he caused to be haled and brought unto his presence, to receive also the debt which was due: and then commaunded him to be led to execution, and so to

¹ Clay so tempered becommeth verie strong, tough and stiffe.

² i. with a loude voice called upon the dead man, etc.

relate the truth unto his father (Augustus). Not long after as he threatned to send unto prison one Pompeius a Romaine Knight, for stoutly denying some thing, hee assured him, That of a Pompeius he would make him a Pompeianus, glauncing by this bitter and biting taunt, both at the mans name and also at the old infortunity of that side.¹

About the same time, when the Pretour came to know of him, whether his pleasure was to holde the judiciall Assizes, as touching the case of Majestie,² or no? he made answer, That the Lawes must have their course and be put in execution: and in very truth he executed them with extreame rigour. There was one who from the Statue of Augustus had taken away the head, for to set the same upon the Statue of another. The matter was debated in the Senate: and because some doubt arose, Who did the deed? inquisition was made by torture. The party delinquent being condemned, this kind of Calumniation by little and little proceeded so farre, that such points as these also were made capitall crimes: namely, to have beaten a slave, about the image of Augustus.³ Item, if a man had shifted his apparell and put on other clothes (about the said Image). Item, to have brought into any privie or brothelhouse his image⁴ imprinted either in money or ring. Lastly, to have empaired any word or deede of his, in the least credite and reputation that might bee. To conclude, it cost one his life, for suffering in his owne Colonie, honours to be decreed unto him, upon the same day, that they had in times past beene decreed for Augustus.

Many parts besides under the colour of gravity and reformation, but rather in deede following the course of his owne nature, hee used to play, so cruelly and with such rigour, that some there were, who in verses both unbraided

¹ The Pompeiani, that took part with Pompeius against Julius Cæsar.

² High treason.

³ Fled thither for refuge as unto a Sanctuarie, or otherwise how so ever.

⁴ Either of Tiberius or Augustus.

by way of reproach the calamities present, and also gave warning of the future miseries, in this manner :

*Asper et immitis. Breviter vis omnia dicam?
Dispeream, si te mater amare potest.*

Harsh and unkind, (In briefe wilt thou I should say all?) thou art:
God me confound, if mother thine can love thee in her hart.

*Non es eques; quare? non sunt tibi millia centum;
Omnia si quæras: et Rhodos exilium est.*

No Knight thou art; and why? for hundred thousands none;
(Search all) thou hast in store: and now at Rhodes exil'd do'st wone.

*Aurea mutasti Saturni sæcula, Cæsar;
Incolumi nam te, ferrea semper erunt.*

Of Saturne King thou changed hast that age resembling gold,
For while thou, Cæsar, liv'st, the world of yron shall ever hold.

*Fastidit vinum quia iam sitit iste cruorem:
Tam bibit hunc avide, quam bibit ante merum.*

Wine doth he loath, because that now of bloud he hath a thirst,
He drinketh that as greedily, as wine he did at first.

*Aspice fælicem sibi non tibi, Romule Sullam;
Et Marium, si vis, aspice; sed reducem,
Nec non Antoni civilia bella moventis:
Nec semel infectas, aspice cæde manus.
Et dic, Roma perit. Regnabit sanguine multo,
Ad regnum quisquis venit ab exilio.*

See Sulla, happy for himselfe, O Romulus not for thee:
And Marius, in case thou wilt, but new returned, see;
Likewise behold of Antonie those hands in bloud embrew'd
Not once, I meane of Antonie, who civill warres renew'd.
Then say, Rome goes to wrack. And he with blud-shed much wil
raign

Who to a Kingdomes-state is come, from banishment againe.

Which verses at first, he would have had to be taken and
construed as made by them who were impatient of any

Lordly rule and absolute dominion at Rome: and as if they had beene framed and devised, not so much with any considerate judgement, as upon Stomach and Choler. And evermore his saying was, *Oderint dum probent*, i. Let them hate me, so long as they suffer my proceedings to passe. But afterwards, even himselfe proved them to be very true and most certaine.

Within few dayes after hee came to Capreæ, when a Fisher-man, suddainly and unlooked for presented unto him (as hee was in a secret place doing somewhat by himselfe) a Barble of an extraordinary bignes, he caused his face to be rubbed all over with the same fish:¹ as put in a fright, no doubt, for that from the backe side of that Iland, he had made meanes thorough the rough thickets and by-ways, to creepe and get unto him where he was. And when the poore fellow amid this punishment seemed to rejoyce yet, and said, It was happy that he had not offred unto him a lopstar also (which he had caught) of an huge greatnesse, hee commaunded that his face should be grated and mangled likewise with the said Lopstar. A Souldiour, one of his owne guard, for filching and stealing a Peacock out of an Orchard he put to death. In a certaine journey that he made, the Lictor wherein he was caried chaunced to be entangled and somewhat stayed with briars and brambles: whereupon a Centurion of the formost cohorts in the Vaward, that had in charge to try and cleere thee waies, he caused to be laid along upon the ground, and there he all to beat him untill he was well-neere dead.

Soone after, hee brake out into all kindes of cruelty; as one who never wanted matter to worke upon: persecuting the familiar friendes and acquaintance of his owne Mother first, then, of his Nephewes and daughter in lawe, and at the last of Sejanus: after whose death hee grewe to be most cruell. Whereby especially it appeared, that himselfe was not wont so much to be provoked and set on by Sejanus: as Sejanus

¹ Being skaly and having a couple of barbets.

to serve his turne and feede his humour, seeking as he did all occasions: howsoever in a certaine commentarie which he composed summarily and briefly of his owne life he durst write this much, That he executed Sejanus, because he had found that hee raged furiously against the children of Germanicus his sonne. Of whom to say a truth, the one himselfe mured, after he had first suspected Sejanus, and the other, not before he had killed him. To prosecute in particular all his bloudie deedes would require a long time. It shall suffice therefore to rehearse in generall the patternes as it were and examples of his crueltie. There passed not a day over his head, no not so much as any festivall and religious holiday, without execution and punishment of folke. Some suffered even uppon Newyeares day. Accused and condemned there were many together, with their children, and very wives. Straight commaundement and warning was given, that the nere kinsfolke of such persons as stood condemned to die, should not mourne and lament for them. Especially rewardes were by decree appointed for their accusers, otherwhiles also for bare witnesses. No informer and promoter was discredited, but his presentment taken. And everie crime and trespasse went for Capitall, and so was received: were it but the speaking of a few simple words. Objected it was against a Poet, that in a tragædie hee had reviled and railed uppon Agamemnon;¹ as also it was laide to an Historians² charge, for saying, that Brutus and Cassius, were the last of all the Romains.³ Presently were the Authors and writers punished, and their writings called in and abolished: notwithstanding certaine yeares before they had beene recited even in the hearing of Augustus, with his good liking and approbation. Some committed to ward, were deprived not onely of their Solace and comfort in studying, but also

¹ As if under his person he had offered abuse unto the Emperour Tiberius.

² A. Cremutius Cordus.

³ He would say The courage and generosity of the Romans died with them, seing that none arose to recover their libertie oppressed and trode under foote by this Tyrant Tiberius.

of the verie use of talking with others. Of such as were cited peremptorily by writ and processe to aunswere at the barre, some gave themselves (mortall) wounds at home in their houses (as sure to be condemned, onely to avoyd torments and ignominy) others in the open face and middest of the Court dranke poyson: and yet were they with their wounds bound up, and whiles they yet panted betweene alive and dead, haled away to prison. There was not one executed but hee was throwne also into the *Gemoniæ*, and drawne with the drag. In one day were there twentie so throwne and drawne: and among them boyes and women. As for young girles and maidens of unripe yeares, because by auncient custome and tradition, unlawfull it was to strangle Virgins, first deflowred they were by the hang-man and afterwards strangled. Were any willing of themselves to die? such were forced violently to live. For he thought simple death so light a punishment, that when he hard, how one of the prisoners, Carnulius by name, had taken his death voluntarily before, he cried out in these wordes, 'Carnulius hath escaped my hands.' Also in overseeing and perusing the prisoners in Gaole, when one of them besought to have his punishment with speed, he made him this answer: 'Nay marry, thou art not yet reconciled unto me, that I should shew thee such favour.' A certaine Consular writer¹ hath inserted this in his *Annales*: That upon a time at a great feast (where himselfe also was present,) Tiberius being on a sodaine asked, and that openly with a lowd voyce by a dwarfe standing at the Table among other Buffons and Jesters, Wherefore Paconius being attaint of treason lived so long? for that instant verily chid the partie for his saucie and malapert tongue: but after a few daies wrote unto the Senate, to take order with all speede for the execution of Paconius.

He increased and strained still more and more this cruelty, by occasion that he was galled and fretted at the newes of his sonne Drusus his death: for, having beene of opinion,

¹ Who had beene sometime consul, and was therefore to be credited.

that he died upon some sickenes and intemperate life, so soone as he understood at length, that he was poysoned and so made away by the villanous practise of his wife Livilla¹ and Sejanus together, he spared not to torment and execute any one whomsoever; so bent and addicted whole daies together to the inquisition and tryall of this onely matter, as that when word came unto him how an host of his an inhabitant of Rhodes (whom by familiar letters he had sent for to Rome) was come, he commanded him out of hand to be put to torture,² as if he had beene some neere freinde present at the foresaid examination: but afterwards, when his error was discovered, and seeing how he had mistaken, he caused him also to be killed, because he should not divulge and make knowne the former injury.³ The place is yet to bee seene at Capreæ of his butcherly carnage: from which he caused condemned persons after long and exquisite torments to be flung headlong before his face into the sea: where were readie to receive them a number of mariners, who with their sprits, poles, and oares should beate and batt their carkasses: to the end that none of them might have any breath or wind remaining in the bodie.

And had it not beene that both death prevented and Thrasyllus⁴ also enforced him of purpose, (as men say) to put of some designs in hope of longer life, he would have mured a good many more (as it is fully beleevd) and not spared those verie nephewes of his that remained yet alive; considering he both had Caius in suspiſion, and also cast of Tiberius, as conceived in adulterie. And it soundeth to truth, that he was minded thus to do. For, ever and anon, he called Priamus happie in that he overlived all his sonnes and daughters.

But, how amid these pranks he lived not onely odious

¹ Daughter of Germanicus and Agrippina, and wife to the said Drusus.

² Among other examinates.

³ Done unto him.

⁴ The Astrologer.

and detested, but exceeding timorous also and exposed to the contumelious reproches of the world, there be many evidences to shew. That any soothsayers should be sought unto and consulted with a part without witnesses by, he forbad: as for the Oracles neere adjoyning to the Citie of Rome, he attempted to subvert them all. But being terrified with the majestie of those answeres which were delivered at Præneste,¹ he gave over: namely, when as he could not finde them, (sealed upp though they were and brought downe to Rome) within the chist until the same was carried backe againe unto the Temple. And not daring to send away and dismissee from him one or two Consulare LL. deputies,² after hee had offered provinces unto them, he detained them so long, untill after certaine yeares expired, he ordained others to succceede them: whiles the other remained present with him: whereas in the meane time, reserving still the title of the office: he assigned unto them many commissions and matters of charge: and they continually gave orders for execution thereof, by the ministerie of their Legates, Livetenants and Coadjutours.

His daughter-in-law,³ and Nephewes, after they were once condemned, he never remooved from place to place otherwise than chained and in a close covered lictor sowed up fast: setting his soldiers to prohibite all passengers that met with them, and waifaring persons travailing by, once to looke backe thither, or to stay their pace and stand still.

When Sejanus went about seditiously to worke alteration in the state: albeit he saw now that both his birth day was publicly solemnized, and also his Images of gold worshipped everie where, he overthrew him (I must needs say) at length: but with much adoo, by craftie sleights and guile, rather than by his princely authoritie and Imperiall power. For first, to the end that he might dismissee the man in shew of

¹ Of Fortune at Preneste.

² L. Ælius Lamia and L. Arruntius that had beene Consuls.

³ Agrippina, his adopted sonne Germanicus wife and widow, or Livilla before named, wife to Drusus his natural sonne.

honour, he assumed him to be his Colleague in the fifth Consulship, which in his long absence¹ he had taken upon him for that verie purpose. Afterwards when he had deceived him with hope of Affinitie² and the Tribunes authoritie, he complained of the man (looking for noe such matter) in a shamefull and pitious Oration:³ beseeching the LL. of the Senate among other requests, To send on of the Consuls to conduct him an aged and desolate man with some garde of soldiours, into their sight. And yet nevertheless, distrusting himselfe and fearing an uprore,⁴ he had given commandement, that his nephew Drusus, whom still he kept in prison at Rome: should be set at libertie (if need did so require,) and ordained generall captaine. Yea and whiles his ships were readie rigged and prepared to what Legions soever he ment for to flie, hee stood looking ever and anon from the highest cliffe that was, toward the markes and signes, which he had appointed (least messengers might stay too long) for to be reared a great way of: thereby to have intelligence, as any occurrent (good or bad) fell out. Nay, when the conspiracie of Sejanus was now suppressed, he was never the more secure and resolute: but for the space of 9 moneths next ensuing he stirred not out of the village⁵ called Jovis.

Beside all this, diverse and sundrie reproachfull taunts from all parts netled and stung his troubled minde. For there was not a person condemned, that reviled him not in all sorts openly to his face, yea and discharged uppon him opprobrious termes by libels laid for the nonce in the verie *Orchestra*,⁶ with which contumelies verily, affected he was after a most divers and contrarie manner: so that, one while he desired for verie shame of the world, that all such abuses might be unknowne and concealed: otherwhiles, hee con-

¹ For he remained still at Capræ.

² To be matched in mariage with on of his neipces.

³ Or Epistle rather written unto the Senat.

⁴ In Rome, about Sejanus, who was so highly honored there.

⁵ Or ferme house, in the Isle Capræ.

⁶ Where the Senatours sat to behold the plaies.

temned the same, and of his owne accorde broached and divulged them abroade. Furthermore, rated he was and railed at in the letters also of Artabanus K. of the Parthians, who charged him with parricides, murders, cowardise and luxurious riot: who gave him counsell likewise with all speede possible, to satisfie with a voluntarie death the hatred of his Citizens, conceived against him in the highest degree and most justly. At the last, being even wearie of himselfe, in the beginning of such an Epistle as this, hee declared and confessed in manner the verie summe of all his miseries. 'What shall I write! my LL. of the Senate, or how shall I write? Nay, what is it, at a word, that I shall not write at this time? The Gods and Goddesses all plague and confound me utterly at once, feeling as I do my selfe dayly to perish.'

Some thinke, that he foreknew all this by the skill he had of future events:¹ that he foresaw also long before how great a calamitie and infamie both, would one day betide him: and therefore it was, that he refused most obstinately to take upon him the Empire and the name of *Pater Patriæ*, as also stood against the oath, to maintaine his Acts: for feare lest within a while after, to his greater disgrace and shame he might be found inferiour, and unworthie of such speciall honours, which verily may be gathered out of the speech hee made as touching both those points, when he saith but thus: That hee would be alwaies like to himselfe, and never chaunge his manners, so long as he continued in his sound wits. Howbeit, for example sake, provided it would be that the Senate binde not themselves to keepe and ratifie the Actions of any one, who by some chaunce might bee altered. And againe, 'Marie, if at any time,' quoth hee, 'yee shall make doubt of my loyall behaviour and devoted mind unto you (which before it ever happen, I wish my dying day to take me from this minde and opinion of yours, once conceived of me and afterwards chaunged) the bare title

¹ For he was wonderfully addicted to the study of Astrologie and such curious Arts.

of *Pater Patriæ* will adde no honour unto me, but upbraide you either with inconsiderate rashnesse, for imposing that Surname uppon mee, or else with inconstancie, for your contrary judgements of mee.'

Corpulent he was, big set and strong, of stature above the ordinarie, broad betweene the shoulders and large breasted: in all other parts also of the bodie (from the crowne of his head to the verie sole of his foote) of equall making and congruent proportion. But his left hand was more nimble and stronger than the right: and his joynts so firme, that with his finger he was able to bore through a greene and sound Apple: with a fillop also to breake the head of a boy, yea of a good stripling and big youth. Of colour and complexion he was cleere and white: wearing the haire of his head longe behind, in so much as it covered his very necke: which was thought in him to be a fashion appropriate to his lineage and familie.¹ He had an ingenuous and well favoured face: wherein notwithstanding appeared many small tumours or risings: and a paire of verie great gogle eyes in his head, such as (whereat a man would marvaile) could see even by night and in the darke: but that was onely for a little while and when they opened first after sleepe: for in the ende they waxed dim againe. His gate was with his necke stiffe and shooting forward:² with a countenance bent and composed lightly to severitie: for the most part he was silent: seldome or never should you have him talke with those next about him: and if hee did, his speech was exceeding slowe, not without a certaine wanton gesticulation and fumbling with his fingers. All which properties being odious and full of arrogancie, Augustus both observed in him, and also went about to excuse and cloke for him before the Senate and people, assuring them, they were the defects and imperfections of nature, and not the

¹ The Claudii.

² Such be termed in Greeke *Busauchenes*. And if we may beleewe the Physiognomie delivered by Aristotle: they be by nature deceitfull and wilie, given to circumvent, entrap and supplant others.

vices of the mind. He lived most healthfull: and verily all the time well neere that he was Emperour not once in maner crasie: albeit from that he was thirtie yeares old he governed his helth after his owne order and direction, without any helpe or counsell at all of Physicians.¹

As little respect as hee had of the Gods, or sence of any religion, (as one addicted to astrologie and calculation of nativities, yea and fully perswaded, that all things were done and ruled by fatall destinie) yet feared he thunder exceedingly: and were the aire or wether any whit troubled, hee ever carried a chaplet or wreath of lawrell about his necke: because that kinde of greene branch is never, as they say blasted with lightning.

The liberall Sciences of both sorts² he loved most affectionately, in the Latine speech he followed Corvinus Messalla; whom being an aged professour he had observed from his verie youth: but with overmuch affectation and curiositie he marred all and darkened his stile: so as he was thought to do somewhat better *ex tempore*, than upon studie and premeditation. He composed also a poem in lyricke verses, the title whereof is, *A complaint of D. Cæsars death*.³ He made likewise Greeke poemes in imitation of Euphorion, Rhianus and Parthenius: in which Poets being much delighted, their writings and Images he dedicated in the publike Libraries among the auncient and principall authors. A number therefore of learned men strove a vie to put forth many pamphlets of them, and to present him therewith. But above all he studied for the knowledge of fabulous historie, even

¹ Tacitus saith, That Tiberius was wont to mock those and hold them to be fooles, who after the said yeares had neede of other mens instructions, to know what was good or hurtfull for their bodies. Whereupon might arise our English proverbe, [At thirty a man is either] a foole or a physician.

² As wel Greeke as Latine.

³ One of Augustus [adopted] sonnes, yet some expound it of Julius Cæsar, Dictator.

unto meere fooleries, and matters ridiculous. For, the verie Grammarians (which kind of professours as we have said, he affected especially) he would assay and oppose commonly with these and such like questions: namely, Who was Hecubaes mother? What name Achilles had among the Virgins?¹ What it was that the Mer-maids were wont to sing? The verie first day, (after the death of Augustus) that he entred into the *Curia*, as if he minded once for all to performe the dutie of pietie and religion: following the example of Minos he sacrificed indeede, as the manner was with Frankincense and wine, but without a minstrell, as the said Minos sometime did at the death of his sonne.²

In the Greeke tongue, howsoever he otherwise was readie enough and spake it with facilitie, yet he used it not every where, but most of all forbare it in the Senate house: in so much verily, as when he came to name *Monopolium*,³ he craved leave before hand: for that he was to use a strang and foraine worde; yea and in a certaine decree of the Senators, when this word *Emblema*⁴ was red, he gave his opinion, that the said word should be changed, and insteede of that strang terme some Latine vocable sought out: and if such an one could not be found, then to utter and declare the thing, though it were in more words and by circumlocution. A certaine Greeke souldier also, being required for to depose and deliver his testimonie, he forbad to make answere, unlesse it were in Latin.⁵

¹ The daughter of King Lycomedes in the Isle Scyros where hee faigned him selfe to bee a maiden.

² Androgeus.

³ A word usuall with us in these daies, for who knoweth not that Monopoly is, when one man engrosseth some commoditie into his own handes, that none may sell the same but himselfe, or from him?

⁴ It signifieth in this place a peece of workmanship set upon a cup or other vessell of Gold or Silver garnish the same, so fitted, as it may be put to, or taken away at our pleasure. The auncient Poets in Latin called such devices *Insertas*.

⁵ Contrarie to Augustus Cæsar, whose manner was ever and anone in his speeches and writings to interlace Greeke words and sentences.

All the time that he was retired and lived from the Cittie of Rome, twice and no more he assaied to returne thither: once he came by water embarked in a gallie, as farre as to the hort-yards and gardens adjoyning to the *Naumachia*.¹ but he had set guardes along the banks of Tibre, for to void and put backe such as went forth to meete him. A second time, by the streete or part way Appia, so farre as the 7 miles end from Rome: but when he had onely seene the walles a farre of, without approaching neerer unto the Citie hee returned. For what cause he did so at first,² it was not certainly knowne: afterwardes, affrighted he was with this prodigious picture and straung sight.³ Among other delights he tooke great pleasure in a Serpent Dragon, which, when according to his usuall manner, he would have fed with his owne hand and found eaten by pismires, he was warned thereupon to beware the violence of a multitude. In his returne therefore speedily into Campania he fell sicke at Astura: but being eased a little of that maladie he went forward as farre as to Cicreii: and because he would give no suspicion of sicknesse, he was not onely present himselfe at the games exhibited by the garison souldiers there, but also, when there was a wild bore put foorth into the open shew-place for to be baited, he launced darts at him from above, where he was: and presently therewith, by occasion of a convulsion in his side, and for that hee had taken the cold aire upon an exceeding heat, he fell backe by relapse into a more dangerous disease. Howbeit, he bare it out a pretie while: notwithstanding that after he was come downe so farre as to Misenum, he pretermitted nothing of his ordinary and daily manner, no not so much as his feasting and other pleasures: partly upon an intemperate humour of his owne, and in part to disimule and palliate his weakenesse. For, when Charicles his Physician, who by vertue of a passport was licensed to depart and be absent, went foorth from the

¹ A place neere the river Tiberis, so called of a Navell fight exhibited sometime there, by Julius Cæsar Dictator, within a spatious pit receiving water for that purpose.

² When he came by the river.

³ When he journeyed by land.

table and tooke hold of his hand to kisse it, he supposing that he had felt his pulse, desired him to stay and sit downe againe, and so drew out the supper longer. Neither gave he over his usuall custome, but even then standing in the midst of the banquetting roome with a lictor by him he spake to every one by name as they tooke their leave.

Meane while, when he had reade mong the Acts passed in the Senate that certaine prisoners were enlarged and dismissed, but not so much as once heard: concerning whom he had written very briefly and no otherwise than thus, that nominated they were by an appeacher: chafing and frowning hereat, as if he had beene held in contempt, he fully purposed to go againe into Capreæ,¹ as one who lightly would attempt nothing, but where he was sure enough and without all daunger. But being kept backe, as well by tempest as the violence of his disease that grew still upon him, hee died soone after in a village² bearing the name Luculliana,³ in the 78 yeare of his age, three and twentieth of his Empire, and the seventeenth day before the Calends of Aprill:⁴ when Cn. Acerronius Proculus and C. Portius Niger were Consuls [A.U.C. 790]. Some thinke that Caius⁵ had given him a poyson of slow operation: which should by little and little consume him. Others are of opinion, that when hee desired meat in the remission of an ague fit wherein hee had swowned (it was denied him⁶) and therewith a pillow throwne upon his face to smudder him and stop his breath. Some againe, that it was when comming soone to himselfe, he called for his Ring which was plucked from his finger whiles he fainted. Seneca writeth that perceiving himselfe drawing on and readie to die, he tooke of his Ring, as if he minded to give it unto some one, and so held it a pretie while: then after-

¹ With full intent as it should seeme to bee revenged of the Senate.

² Or manner house.

³ Of Lucullus, who either built it, or there dwelt.

⁴ 16 of March.

⁵ Caligula, Emperor after him.

⁶ Some leave out this clause, and read thus, as he desired meat, etc., a pillow was, etc.

wardes did it uppon his finger againe: and so keeping down and griping close his left hand,¹ lay still a long time without once stirring: but sodainely calling for his gromes and servants, when none made aunswere, rose up, and not farre from his pallet, his strength failing him, fell downe dead.

Upon the last Birth-dayes-feast of his that ever he saw, him thought as hee lay a sleepe, that Apollo Temenites (an Idol of exceeding bignesse and most artificially wrought) which was newly brought from Saracose to be set up in the librarie of his new temple, assured him, That he could not possibly by him be dedicated. And some few daies before his death, the watch-tower that gave light at Capreæ by an earthquake fell downe in the night: and at Misenum, the ashes remaining of the embers and coales brought in to heate his refection parlour, being quenched quite and continuing cold a long time, suddainely brake forth into a light fire, at the shutting in of the evening, and so shone out a great part of the night and gave not over.

The people joyed so much at his death, that running up and downe at the first tidings thereof, some cried out in this note, '(Fling) Tiberius into Tiberis':² others in their prayers besought the Mother Earth and the infernall Gods to vouchsafe him now dead no place, but among impious wretches: and a sort there were, who threatened his lifelesse carkasse the Drag and the *Gemonia*: as who, over and above the remembrance of his former cruelty in times past, were provoked to anger with a fresh outrage newly committed. For whereas by an Act of Senate it was provided, That the execution of condemned persons should be put off unto the tenth day after (sentence given), it happened so, that the day on which some of them were to suffer, fell out to be the very same, wherein newes came of Tiberius death. These poore soules, notwithstanding they piteously called for mans help (because in the absence yet of Caius no man was known, who might (in such a case) be repaired unto and spoken with)

¹ Upon which he ware the ring.

² [The river Tiber.]

the Gaolers, for that they would do nothing against the Constitution aforesaid strangled them and flung their bodies into the *Gemonia*. Heereupon, I say, the peoples hatred against him encreased, as if the Tyrants cruelty remained still after death. His corpes, so soone as it began to bee removed from Misenum, notwithstanding the most part cried with one voice, To carie it rather to Atella,¹ and there to half-burne it² in the Amphitheatre,³ yet was brought to Rome by the Soldiours and burnt in a publick funerall fire.

A two-fold will he made two yeeres before: the one written with his own hand: the other by his freed-man: but both of them were of the same tenour: and signed he had them with the seales of most base persons. By vertue of which will and testament, he left coheires and equall in portion Caius his nephew by Germanicus, and Tiberius by Drusus. These he substituted and appointed to succeed one another. He gave legacies also to manie more, and amongst the rest unto the vestall Virgins, and to the Souldiers of all sorts in generall: as also to the commons of Rome by the poll: yea and to the Master of everie Street by themselves severally.

¹ A towne in Campania where he tooke so great delight, and a place infamous for the licentious life of the inhabitants, whereupon grew the name of those lascivious and filthie Comedies, *Atellanae*. A place I say suiting well to his beastly behaviour. As if he had beene unworthie to be conveyed to Rome, the Citie which so long before he had abandoned.

² As poore begger bodies were wont to be served in hast, by the common bearers, and not fully burnt with leasure.

³ Where malefactors ordinarily were burnt.

SUETONIUS

THE HISTORIE OF CAIUS CÆSAR CALIGULA

THUS having obtained the Empire he [Caligula] procured unto the people of Rome, or (as I may so say) to all mankind their hearts desire: being a prince of all that ever were, most wished for of the greatest part of provinciall Nations and of the souldiors, because most of them had known him an infant: and generally of the whole comminality of Rome, in remembrance of his father Germanicus, and upon compassion they took of that house in manner ruinate and extinct. As he removed therefore from Misenum, albeit he was clad in mourning weed and reverently did attend the corps of Tiberius, yet went he among the altars, sacrifices and burning torches in a most thick throng and joifull traine of such as met him on the way: who beside other luckie and fortunate names called him *Sidus*, *i.* their starre, *Pullum*, *i.* their chick, *Pupum*, *i.* their babe, and *Alumnum*, *i.* their nurceling.

No sooner was he entred into the citie of Rome, but incessantly with consent of the senate and the multitude rushing into the *Curia*, after they had annulled the wil of Tiberius, who in his testament had adjoynd coheire unto him another of his Nephews under age,¹ and as yet in his *pretexta*, permitted he was alone, to have the ful and absolute power of all, and that with such an universal joy, that in three moneths space next ensuing and those not fully expired, there were by report above 160000 Beastes slaine for sacrifice. After this, when as within some fewe dayes he passed over

¹ Tiberius the son of Drusus.

by the water but to the next Ilands of Campania, vowes were made for his safe returne: and no man there was who did let slip the least occasion offred, to testifie what pensive care he tooke, as touching his health and safetie. But so soone as he was once fallen sicke, they all kept watch by night about the Palace: neither wanted some, who vowed to fight armed to the very outrance for his life thus lying sicke, yea and devoted their verie lives for him if hee recovered,¹ professing no lesse in written bils set uppe in publike places. To this surpassing love of his owne Citizens and Countrie men, was adjoynd the notable favour also of foraine states. For, Artabanus King of the Parthians, professing alwaies his hatred and contempt of Tiberius, sought of his owne accord to him for amitie: yea he came in person to a conference with one of his legates (or Lieutenants) that had beene Consul, and passing over Euphrates, adored the Ægles and other militarie ensignes of the Romaines, as also the Images of the Cæsars.

Himselfe also enkindled and set more on fire the affections of men by all manner of popularitie. When he had with many a teare praised Tiberius in a funerall Oration before the bodie of the people, and performed the complement of his obsequies most honorably, forthwith he hastened, to Pandataria and Pontiaë, for to translate from thence the ashes of his mother and brother, and that in foule and tempestuous wether, to the end that his pietie and kindnes might the more be seene. And being come to their reliques, very devoutly himselfe with his owne hands bestowed them in severall pitchers. And with no lesse shewe in pagent wise, having wafted them first to Ostia with a flag (or streamer) pitched in the poupe or sterne of a galley guided by two ranks of Oares and so foorth to Rome up the Tiber, by the minsterie of the most worshipfull gentlemen of Rome: he conveighed them within two Fercules (or frames) devised for the purpose into the Mausoleum, even at noone day when

¹ An opinion there was deeply settled in mens heads, that the death of one man might be excused and redeemed, with the death of another.

people were assembled there in great frequencie. In memoriall likewise of them he ordained yeerely dirges and sacrifices to be performed with religious devotion to their ghosts by the whole Cittie. And more then that, he instituted for his mother solemn games within the Cirque: and a sacred Chariot withal wherin her Image to the ful proportion of her bodie should be carried in the pompe. But in remembrance of his father he called the moneth September, Germanicus. These ceremoniall duties done, by vertue of one sole Act of the Senate, he heaped upon his grand-mother Antonia whatsoever honours Livia Augusta had received in her whole time. His Unkle Claudius, a knight of Rome untill that time and no better, he assumed unto him for his Colleague in the Consulship. His brother Tiberius¹ he adopted the verie day that he put on his Virile gowne, and stiled him Prince of the youth. As touching his sisters, hee caused in all [forms of] Oaths this clause to be annexed, 'Neither shall I prise my selfe and children more deere, than I do Caius and his sisters.' Item, he ordained that in mooving and propounding of matters by the Consuls unto the Senatours, they should begin in this form, *Quod bonum*, etc., *i.* That which may be to the good and happie estate of Caius Cæsar and his sisters, etc. In the semblable veine of popularitie, he restored all those that had beene condemned, confined and exiled, yea he freely dispensed with them, pardoning whatsoever crimes or imputations remained still behinde from before time. All the bookes and registers pertaining to the causes of his mother and brethren, because no informer or witnesse should afterwardees neede to feare, he brought together into the Forum: where protesting before hand, and calling the Gods to record with a lowd voice, that he had neither red ought nor medled once therewith, he burnt them. A certaine pamphlet presented unto him concerning his life and safety, he received not, but stood upon this point, That he had done nothing wherefore he should be odious to any person: saying withall, That he had no eares open for informers and Tale-bearers.

¹ His cosin germaine, for such are called brethren.

The Spintriae, inventers of monstrous formes in perpetrating filthie lust, he expelled forth of Rome, being hardly and with much ado intreated not to drown them in the deepe sea. The writings of Titus Labienus, Cordus Cremutius and divers Acts of the Senate, he suffered to be sought out againe, to be in mens hands extant, and usually to be red: seeing that it concerned him principally and stood him upon most, to have all actions and deedes delivered unto posteritie. The Breviarie of the Empire, that by Augustus had beene wont to bee proposed onely, but was by Tiberius intermitted, he published. Unto the Magistrates he granted free Jurisdiction, and that there might be no appealing to himselfe. The Gentrye and knighthood of Rome he reviewed with severity and great precisenesse: yet not without some moderation of his hand. Hee openly tooke from them their horses,¹ in whome was found any foule reproch or ignominie: as for those, who were culpable in smaller matters, hee onely passed over their names in reading the Roll. To the ende, that the Judges might bee eased of their labour, unto the foure former decuries hee added a fifth. Hee gave the attempt likewise to bring up againe the auncient manner of Elections, and to restore unto the people their free voices. The legacies due by the will and testament of Augustus (although the same was abolished): as also of Livia Augusta, which Tiberius had suppressed, he caused faithfully and without fraud to be tendred and fully paide. The exaction called *Ducentesima*² of all bargaines and sales, he remitted throughout Italie. The losses that many a man had sustained by fire he supplied: and if to any princes he restored their kingdomes, hee adjoynd withall the fruicte and profits also of their rents, customes and imposts growing to the Crowne in the middle time between: as namely, unto Antiochus Comagenus who had been confiscate and fined in an hundred millions of Sesterces. And that he might the rather be reputed a favourer of all good examples, hee gave unto a woman, (by condition a libertine) 800000 Sesterces, for that she being under most grievous and

¹ Publike horses for service.

² The two hundred penie.

dolorous torments, concealed yet and would not to die for it, utter a wicked fact committed by her Patron. For which things, among other honours done unto him there was decreed for him a shield of golde,¹ which upon a certaine day everie yeare, the colledges of the Priestes shoulde bring into the Capitoll, with the Senate accompanying them, and Noble mens children as well boyes as girles, singing the praises of his vertues in musicall verse tuned sweetely in meeter. Moreover, there passed a decree, that the day on which hee beganne his Empire should be called *Palilia*,² implying thereby, as it were a second foundation of the Cittie.

He bare foure Consulships: the first, from the Calends of Julie for ii. monethes: the second from the Calends of Januarie, for 30 dayes: the third unto the Ides of Januarie: and the fourth unto the seventh day before the said Ides.³ Of all these, the ii. last he held joyntly together. The third, he alone entred upon at Lions:⁴ not, as some deeme, upon pride or negligence: but because, being absent, he could not have knowledge that his Colleague died just against the very day of the Calends. He gave a largesse to the people twice, to wit, 300 sesterces to them a peece, and a most plenteous dinner he made as oft unto the Senate and degree of gentlemen, as also to the wives and children of them both. In the latter dinner of the twaine, he dealt over and above, among the men garments to be worne abroad: unto the women and children, gardes welts, or laces, of purple and violet colour. And to the ende, he might augment the publike joy of the Cittie with perpetuitie also, hee annexed unto the feast *Saturnalia* one daye more, and named the same *Juvenalis*.

¹ His halfe image downward from the head to the wast, portrayed with a Shield or Scutchion.

² A festivall holiday solemnized by heardmen, in the honour of Pales their Goddess and Patronesse. Upon which day, the foundation of Rome Citie was laid. This feast they kept, the 12 day before the Kalends of May, to wit, the 20 of Aprill.

³ A.U.C. 790, 791, 793, 794.

⁴ In France.

He set foorth games of Sword-fencers, partly in the Amphitheater of Taurus, and partly within the *Septa* in Mars field, into the which he inserted and brought in, certaine troupes of African and Campane Champions to skirmish by companies: even the very best, selected out of both Countries. Neither was he alwaies himselfe president at these solemnities and publike shewes, but otherwhiles enjoined the Magistrates or else his freinds to take the charge of presidencie. As for stage plaies, he exhibited them continually in diverse places and in sundrie sorts: once also in the night season, burning lights throughout the Cittie. He skattered likewise and flung (among the common people) missils,¹ of many and sundry kinds to skamble for: and dealt man by man, paniers with viandes therein. At which feasting, to a certaine gentleman of Rome who over against him plyed his chawes full merily, and fedde right hartily with a greedie stomacke, he sent his owne part: as also to a Senatour for the same cause, his letters patents, wherein he declared him extraordinarily Prætour. He represented besides, many Cirq-games, which held from morne to even: interposing one while, the baiting of Panthers; another while the Troie-justing and Turnament. But some especiall sports there were above the rest, and then the Cirq-place was laide all over with Vermillion and Borax Minerall:² where none but of Senatours degree ruled and drave the Chariots. Some also he put foorth upon a sodaine, namely when as he beheld from out of the house Gelotiana, the preparation and furniture of the Cirque, some few from the next open galleries jettying out, called unto him for the same.

Furthermore, he devised a new kind of sight, and such as never was hearde of before. For, over the middle Space³ between Baïæ and the huge piles or dammes at Puteoli containing three miles and 600 paces well neere, hee made a bridge: having gotten together from all parts ships of burden,

¹ *Missilia*, small gifts.

² Red and greene.

³ An arme of the sea.

and placed them in a duple course at Anchor, with a banke of earth cast thereupon, direct and straight after the fashion of the high way Appia. Uppon this bridge he passed to and fro for two dayes together: the first day mounted on a courser richly trapped, himselfe most brave and goodly to be seene with a chaplet of Oke-brances: armed with a battaile axe, a light targuet and a sword, clad also in a cloke of gold: the morrow after he appeared in the habit of a Chariotier, ryding in a chariot drawne with two goodly steedes of an excellent race: carrying before him Darius a boye, one of the Parthian hostages with a traine of the Prætorian souldiers marching after in battaile raie: and accompanied with the Cohort of his minions in British wagons. Most men I wote well, are of opinion that Caius invented such a kind of bridge, in emulation of Xerxes, who not without the wonder of the world, made a bridge of planks over Hellesponte an arme of the Sea, somewhat narrower than this: others, that by a bruite blazed abroad of some huge and monstrous peece of worke, hee might terrifie Germanie and Britaine, upon which countries hee meant to make warre. But I remember well that beeing a boy, I heard my Grandfather report and tell the cause of this worke, as it was delivered by his owne Courteours, who were more inward with him than the rest: namely, that Thrasyllus the great Astrologer assured Tiberius when hee was troubled in minde about his successour, and more inclined to his naturall and lawfull nephew¹ indeede by lineall descent, That Caius should no more become Emperour than able to runne a course to and fro on horse-backe, through the gulfe of Baiæ.

He set forth shewes also even in forraine parts, to wit in Sicilie at Saracose, the games called *Actiaci*: likewise at Lions in Fraunce, playes of a mixt nature and argument: as also a solemne contention for the prise in Eloquence both Greeke and Latine. In which tryall of maisteries, the report goeth, that those who were foiled and overcome, conferred rewards upon the winners, yea and were forced to make com-

¹ Tiberius, the sonne of Drusus Tiberius the Emperors son.

positions in their praise. But looke who did worst, they were commanded to wipe out their owne writings, either with a sponge or els with their tongues, unlesse they would chuse rather to be chastized with ferulars or els to be ducked over head and eares in the next river.

The buildings left halfe undone by Tiberius, namely, the Temple of Augustus, and the Theatre of Pompeius, he finished. He began moreover a conduit in the Tiburtine territorie: and an Amphitheatre neere unto the Enclosure called *Septa*: of the two works, the one was ended by his successor Claudius, the other was forlet and given over quite. The wals at Saracose by the injurie of time decaied and fallen downe were by him reedified: and the temples of the gods there, repaired. Hee had fully purposed also to build anew the palace of Polycrates at Samos: to finish Apolloes temple called Didymeum at Miletum: as also to found and build a Cittie upon the top of the Alpes: but before all, to dig through the Isthmus in Achaia: and thither had he sent alreadie one of purpose, who had beene a principall Captaine of a Cohort in the Vaward, to take measure of the worke.

Thus farre forth as of a Prince: now forward, relate we must as of a Monster. Having assumed into his Stile many surnames, for called he was *Pius*, *i.* kind: *Castrorum filius*, *i.* the sonne of the camp: *Pater exercituum*, *i.* Father of hosts: and *Optimus Maximus Cæsar*, *i.* the most gracious and mightie Cæsar,¹ when he hapned to heare certaine Kings² (who were come into the Cittie for to do their duties and to salute him) contend as they sate with him at supper, about the Nobilitie of their birth and parentage, hee cryed forth

One Sovereigne Lord, one King let there be:³

and there lacked not much but that presently he had taken

¹ Usurping the Attributes of Jupiter.

² Agrippa and Antiochus.

³ The end of one verse, and beginning of another, cited out of Homer in the second of his *Ilias*.

the Diademe upon him and converted wholly the shew of Empire, into the forme of a Kingdome. But being told that he was mounted alreadie above the heighth and state both of Emperours and also of Kings, thereupon from that time forward hee began to challenge unto himselfe a divine Majestie: and having given order and commission, that the images of the gods, which either for devout worship done unto them, or for curious workemanship seene upon them, excelled the rest, (among which was that of Jupiter Olimpicus) should bee brought out of Greece unto Rome, that when their heads were taken of, he might set his owne in the place: he enlarged the *Palatium*¹ and set out one part thereof as far as to the forum. Transfiguring likewise and turning the Temple of Castor and Pollux into a porch or entrie,² he stood manie times in the middle between the said two gods, brethren, and so exhibited himselfe to be adored of all comers. And some there were who saluted him by the name of Jupiter Latialis. Moreover he ordained a Temple peculiarly appropriate to his owne godhead, as also priests and most exquisite Osts.³ In his saide Temple stood his owne image all of gold, lively portraied and expressing his full proportion: the which was daily clad with the like vesture as himselfe wore. The masterships of the priest-hood by him instituted, the richest men that were, every time of vacancie purchased: such as made greatest suite and offered most therefor. The Osts or sacrifices aforesaid were these foules, Phœnicopteri, Peacocks, Tetrones, Numidicæ, Meleagrides and Phesants,⁴ and those to be sorted by their kinds; and so every day killed. And verily, his usuall manner was in the night to call unto the Moone when she was at full and shining bright out for

¹ The Palace in that Mount, that stood in *Forum Romanum*.

² To his Pallace.

³ Sacrifices.

⁴ *Phanicopterus*, a water foule, of a colour read, or purple whereof it taketh the name: and the tongue is a most daintie and pleasant morsell; *Tetraones*, Bistards, birds decked with most beautifull fethers; *Numidicæ*, Hens of Guinny; *Meleagrides*, by the description of Clitus, they be our Turkies; the *Phesant* took his name of Phasis, a river and Citie in Colchis.

to come and ly with him in his armes: but in the day time, he talked secretly and apart with Jupiter Capitolinus: one while by whispering and rounding one another in the eare, otherwhiles speaking more lowde and not without chiding: for he was heard in threatening wise to utter these words, I will remove and translate thee into the lande of the Greeks: untill such time as being intreated (according as he tolde the tale himselfe) and invited first by him for to cohabite, he made a bridge over the temple of Augustus of sacred memorie, and so joyned the *Palatium* and Capitol together. And soone after, to the end that he might be nearer unto him hee layed the foundation of a newe house in the voide base-court of the Capitoll.

Hee could in no wise abide to be either reputed or named the nephew of Agrippa by reason of his base and obscure parentage: yea and angrie hee would be, in case anie man either in Oration or Verse inserted him [Agrippa] among the images of the Cæsars. But he gave it out openly, that his owne mother¹ was begotten by incest which Augustus committed with his owne daughter Julia. And not content with this infamous imputation of Augustus, the Actiack and Sicilian victories by him atchieved, hee streightly forbad to be celebrated yeerely with solemne holidiaies, as beeing unluckie and hurtfull to the people of Rome. As for Livia Augusta his great Grand-mother, he called her ever and anon Ulisses in a womans habite: yea and in a certaine Epistle unto the Senate he was so bold as to lay unto her, Ignobility as descended from a Decurian of Fundi² who was her Grand-sire by the mothers side, whereas it is evident and certaine by publick records that Aufidius Lingo bare honourable Offices in Rome. When his Grandame Antonia³ requested secret conference with him, he denied her, unlesse Macro Capitaine of the Guard might come in betweene to heare their talke. And so, by such indignities and discontentments as these,

¹ Agrippina, supposed to be the daughter of M. Agrippa and Julia.

² Aufidius Lingo, or Lurco.

³ By the father side, to wit, the mother of Germanicus.

hee was the cause of her death: and yet, as some thinke, he gave her poison withall. Neither when shee was dead daigned hee her any honour, but out of his dining chamber beheld her funerall fire as it was burning. His brother Tiberius he surprised suddainly at unawares, sending a Tribune of Souldiours, who rushed in upon him and so slew him. Likewise Silanus his Father in law hee forced to death, even to cut his owne throate with a Razour, picking quarrels to them both and finding these causes: to wit, that the one [Silanus] followed him not when hee tooke sea beeing very rough and much troubled, but staid behind in hope to seize the Citie of Rome into his owne hands, if ought hapned but well unto him by occasion of tempests: the other [Tiberius] smelled strongly of a Preservative or Antidote, as if hee had taken the same to prevent his poisons. Whereas, in very truth Silanus avoided thereby the unsufferable paine of being Seasick and the grievous trouble of sayling: and Tiberius for a continuall cough that grew still upon him used a medicine. For, his Unkle Claudius¹ he reserved for nothing else but to make him his laughing-stock.

With all his sisters, hee used ordinarily to be naught: and at any great feast hee placed evermore one or other of them by turnes beneath himselfe, while his wife sat above. Of these sisters (as it is verily thought) he defloured Drusilla being a virgin, when himselfe also was yet under age and a very boy: yea, and one time above the rest hee was found in bed with her and taken in the manner by his Grandmother Antonia, in whose house they were brought up both together. Afterwards also when shee was bestowed in marriage upon Lucius Cassius Longinus, a man of Consulare degree, hee tooke her from him and kept her openly, as if shee had beene his owne lawfull wife. Also when he lay sicke, he ordained her to be both heire of all his goods and Successour also in the Empire. For the same sister deceased, hee proclaimed a generall cessation of Law in all Courts. During which time, a capitall crime it was for any man to

¹ His Successour in the Empire.

have laughed, bathed, or supped together with parents, wife or children. And being impatient of this sorrow, when hee was fled suddainely and by night out of the Citie, and had passed all over Campania, to Saracose hee went; and so from thence returned speedily againe with his beard and haire of head overgrowne. Neither at any time ever after, in making a speech before the people or to his Souldiours concerning any matters were they never so weighty would hee sweare otherwise than by the name¹ of Drusilla. The rest of his sisters, (Livia and Agrippina) hee loved neither with so tender affection nor so good respect, as whom he oftentimes prostituted and offred to be abused by his own stale catamites. So much the more easily therefore condemned he them in the case of Æmilius Lepidus, as adulteresses and privie to his treasons and waite-layings addressed against his person. And he not onely divulged the hand-writings which were sought out by guile and adulteries, but also consecrated unto Mars Revenger those three daggers prepared for his death,² with a title over them, containing the cause of his so doing.

As for his mariages, a man may hardly discern, whether hee contracted, dissolved, or held them still with more dishonesty. Livia Orestilla, what time she was wedded unto C. Piso, himselfe (being one who came in person to the Solemnization of the marriage) commaunded to be brought home unto him as his owne wife: and having within few daies cast her off, two yeeres after he banished and sent her away; because in the middle time betweene, shee was thought to have had the company againe of her former husband. Some report, that being an invited guest at the Nuptiall supper, he charged Piso sitting over against him, in these termes,

¹ *Per nomen*, some reade *Numen*, i. the godhead or divine power: for he equalled her with Venus, and commaunded that she should be worshipped as a Goddess; and as Dion writeth, named she was Panthea, and women were compelled to sweare by her, as by Juno.

² By them, to wit Lepidus and his two sisters: or by him, for their death.

‘Sirra, see you sit not too close unto my wife’: and so, presently had her away with him from the table: and the next day published by Proclamation, That hee had met with a marriage after the example of Romulus and Augustus.¹ As touching Lollia Paulina married already to C. Memmius, a man of Consular degree and ruler of Armies: uppon mention made of her Grandmother as the most beautifull Lady in her time, he all of a suddaine sent and called her home out of the Province: and taking her perforce from her husband, wedded her and shortly turned her away: forbidding her straightly for ever the use of any mans body whatsoever. Cæsonia, for no speciall beauty and favour of her owne above others, nor yet because she was in the flower of her youth, (considering shee had beene the mother already of three daughters by another man): but onely for that shee was a most lascivious woman and of unsatiable lust he loved with more ardent affection and constancie: in so much as many a time he would shew her to his Souldiours in her haire, clad in a Soldiours Cassocke with a slight Target and an helmet riding close unto him: but to his friends, starke naked also.² When she brought him a childe, hee vouchsafed her then, the name of his wife and not before; professing and making it knowne, that in one and the selfe same day, he was become her husband and also father of the Infant of her body borne. This babe he named Junia Drusilla: whom hee caried about with him through the temples of all the Goddesses, and bestowed at length in the lap of Minerva,³ recommending it to her for to be nourished, brought up and taught. Neither had hee any surer signe and evidence to believe she was his owne and of his naturall seede conceived, than her curstnesse and shrewdnesse: and that qualitie had shee even then at the first, in such measure, as that with her perilous fingers shee would not sticke to lay at the face and eyes of other small Children playing together with her.

¹ Romulus ravished the Sabine virgins: and Augustus by force tooke from Tiberius his wife Livia.

² Like as Candaules King of Lydia, did to his friend Gyges.

³ Goddesses of good arts and sciences.

Vanitie it were and meere folly, to adjoine hereunto, how he served his kinsfolke and friends, to wit Ptolemæus K. Jubaes son and his own cousin german (for hee also was the Nephew of M. Antonius by his daughter Selena:¹) but especially Macro himselfe, yea and Enna likewise, who were his chiefe helpers and advanced him to the Empire. All of them, in right of their neere affinity, and in consideration of their good deserts were highly rewarded, even with bloudy death. No more respective was hee one whit of the Senate, nor dealt in gentler wise with them: some, after they had borne the highest honours, hee suffred to runne by his Wagon side in their gownes for certaine miles together: and as he sat at supper, to stand waiting one while at the head, another while at the foote of the table, girt with a white linnen towell about them. Others, whom hee had secretly murdred, he continued never the lesse calling for, as if they were alive: giving it out most untruly some few daies after, that they had wilfully made themselves away. The Consuls had forgot by chaunce to publish by proclamation his Birth-day; for which, hee deprived them of their magistracie: and so for three daies space the Common-wealth was without the sovaine authoritie.² His owne Questour, who hapned to be nominated in a conspiracie against him, hee caused to be scourged: and the cloathes out of which hee was stripped to be put under the Souldiours feete, that they might stand more steedily whiles they were whipping him. In semblable pride and violence hee handled other States and degrees of Citizens. Beeing disquieted with the stirr and noise that they kept, who by midnight tooke up their standings in the Cirque, which cost them nothing, hee drave them all away with cudgels:

¹ *Selena*, in Greeke, signifieth the Moone. And well knownen it is, that as M. Antonius the Triumvir called himself Bacchus and Osiris, so Cleopatra his wife tooke pleasure to be named *Luna*, *i.* the Moone, and Isis. Whereupon they gave to their sonne Alexander begotten between them, the name of the sunne, and to their daughter Cleopatra the name of the Moone, or Selena, which is all one.

² The Consuls were reputed still (in outward shew) Sovereigne Magistrates, although indeed, the Cæsars caried all before them, and were absolute Monarches.

in which tumult and hurliburly, there were twenty Knights of Rome and above, crowded and crushed to death, as many matrones and wives also, besides an infinite number of the common multitude. At the Stage Plaies, being minded to sow discord, and minister occasion of quarrell betweene the Commons and Gentlemen of Rome: he gave his Tallies¹ forth sooner than ordinarie: to the end that the *Equestria*² might be possessed afore-hand even by the basest Commoners that came. At the sword-fight, he other whiles commaunded the Curtaines to be folded up and drawne together, during the most parching heate of the sunne: and forbad that any person should be let forth: and then, removing and sending quite away the ordinarie furniture of shewes provided to make pastime, he put forth unto the people for to behold, poore wild-beasts and carian-leane, to bee baited: the basest sword-fencers also and worne with age, to combat: yea, and appointed householders such as were of quality and well knowne, but yet noted for some speciall feeblenesse and imperfection of body to goe under the *Pegmes*³ and carie them. And divers times hee brought a dearth and famine among the people, by shutting up the garners and Storehouses from them.

The crueltie of his nature he shewed by these examples most of all. When Cattell which were to feede wilde beasts prepared for baiting, grew to be sold very deere, he appointed malefactors found guilty to be slaughtered for that purpose. And in taking the review of Gaoles and prisoners therein, as they were sorted according to their offences: he, without once looking upon the title and cause of their imprisonment, standing only within a gallerie, commaunded al in the mids, *a calvo ad calvum*,⁴ i. from one bald-pate to another, to be led forth to execution. He exacted of him the performance of a vow, who had promised to doe his devoir in publick

¹ Or Tickets.

² Roomes and seates in the Theater appointed for the Gentlemen [*Equites*].

³ Frames for Pageants.

⁴ He had espied in the multitude of those prisoners and malefactors, two with bald heads, distant farre a sunder, and happily, as much as

sword-fight for the recoverie of his health: and him he beheld fighting at sharpe: neither dismissed he him before he was victour, and after many prayers. Another there was, who for the same cause had vowed to die. This man being not very forward to pay his vow, hee caused to be dight with sacred hearbs, and adorned with Infules,¹ like a sacrifice; and so delivered him into the hands of boyes: who calling hard upon him for the discharge of his vow, should course and drive him through the streets of the City, untill he were throwne headlong downe the steepe Rampier.² Many honest Citizens of good calling and estate, after he had first disfigured with markes of branding yrons, he condemned to dig in mines, and to make high-waies, or to encounter with beasts: or kept them creeping with all foure like brute beasts within a cage for the nonce: or else slit them through the mids with a sawe. And those whom hee thus served, were not all of them guilty of any grievous offences: but sufficient it was, if they had a base conceite and spake but meanly of some shew that he exhibited: or because they had never sworne stoutly by his *Genius*.³ Parents he forced to be present at the execution of their owne children. And when one Father excused himselfe by reason of sicknesse, hee sent a Lictor for him: another of them immediately after the heaive spectacle of his sonne put to death, he invited to his own bourd; made him great cheere, and by all manner of courtesie provoked him to jocondnesse and mirth.⁴ The Maister of his

from the one end of the place unto the other: all those betweene, without respect of their cause, he commaunded to be put to death indifferently.

¹ Ribbands.

² Of Tarquinius, as some thinke.

³ These *Genii* are of a middle essence, betweene men and Gods, called therefore, *Medioxumi*. It signifieth here, the Dæmon, Tutelar angel or spirit of the Prince. For the maner of the Romaines was in flattering wise, thus to sweare, as also by the helth, the life, the honour of their Emperours.

⁴ Seneca, lib. 2 *de Iræ*, cap. 33, reporteth the like example of Castor a right worshipful Gentleman of Rome, whose sonne, the same Caligula, upon verie envie that the young man was a proper and beauti-

sword-fights and beast baitings, he caused for certaine daies together to be beaten with chaines in his owne sight: but killed him not quite, before himselfe could no longer abide the stench of his braine by this time putrified. A Poet, the Author of *Atellane Enterludes*, for a verse that he made implying a jest, which might be doubly taken, he burnt at a stake in the very middle shew-place of the Amphitheatre. A Gentleman of Rome, whom he had cast before wild beasts, when he cried out that he was innocent, he commaunded to be brought back: and after hee had cut out his tongue, sent him among them againe, (to fight for his life or to be devoured).

Having recalled one from exile which had been long banished, he demaunded of him, what he was wont to do there, who made answer thus by way of flatterie, 'I praied,' quoth he, 'to the Gods alwaies that Tiberius¹ (as now it is come to pass) might perish, and you become Emperour.' Hereupon Caligula weening that those whom he had banished praied likewise for his death, sent about in the Ilands,² to kill them every one. Being desirous to have a Senatour torne and mangled peecemeale, he suborned certaine of purpose, who all on a suddaine as he entred into the *Curia*, should call him enemie to the State, and so lay violent hands upon him: and when they had with their writing yrons all to pricked and stabbed him, deliver him over to the rest, for to be dismembred and cut in peeces accordingly. Neither was hee satisfied, untill he saw the mans limmes, joints and inwards drawne along the streetes, and piled all on an heape together before him.

full person, put to death in his fathers sight, and then invited the old man to supper, provoked him to carouse and be merie, which the good father was faine to endure and make semblance of contentment, for feare, least the Tyrant would have done as much by another sonne, whom he had living.

¹ Who had banished him.

² The manner of the Roman Emperours was, upon displeasure, to send men and women away into some desert Isles.

His deeds most horrible as they were, hee augmented with as cruell words. His saying was, That he commended and approved in his owne nature nothing more, than (to use his own terme) *adiatrepsian*, *i.* unmoveable rigour. When his Grandmother Antonia seemed to give him some admonition, he (as though it were not enough to disobey her), 'Go to dame,' quoth he, 'remember I may do what I wil against all persons whomsoever.' Being minded to kill his owne brother, whom for feare of poison he imagined to be fortified afore-hand with Preservatives,¹ 'What,' quoth he, 'is there any Antidote against Cæsar?' When he had banished his sisters, he threatened them in these terms, saying, That hee had not Ilands onely at commaund but swords also. A certaine Citizen of Pretour's degree, desired oftentimes from the retiring place where he was at Anticyra, (into which Isle he went for his health sake) to have his licence continued. But hee gave order he should be killed outright: adding these words therewith, that Bloud-letting was necessary for him, who in so long time had found no good by Hellebor.² Once every ten daies, his manner was to subscribe and write downe a certaine number out of the Gaole to be executed, and said withall, That hee cast up his reckonings, and cleared the booke of accompts. When hee had at one time condemned a sort of French-men and Greekes together, hee made his boast that he had subdued Gallogræcia.³

He would not lightly permit any to suffer death, but after many strokes given and those very softly, with this rule and precept evermore, which now became rift and well knowne, 'Strike so, as they may feele that they are dying.' Hee

¹ Or counter-poisons.

² Ellebor, that groweth in the Isles Antycire, is of most effectuall operation. The roote is that, whereof is made our sneeing powder. It purgeth extreemely by vomit. Thereupon ariseth the Proverb, *Naviget Anticyram*, *i.* Let him sayle to Anticyra, applied to one that is melancholicke in the highest degree, and little better than mad.

³ A Nation mixt of French and Greekes.

executed on a time one whom he had not appointed to die, by error onely and mistaking his name: 'But it makes no matter,' quoth he, 'for even he also hath deserved death.' This speech of the Tyrant¹ out of a Tragædie, hee often repeated, *Oderint dum metuant, i.* 'Let them hate me so they feare me.' Many a time hee inveighed bitterly against all the Senatours at once, as the Dependants and adhærents of Sejanus, or the Informers against his mother and brethren; bringing forth those evidences which hee had made semblance before were burnt: and therewith excused and justified the cruelty of Tiberius as necessary: seeing he could not otherwise chuse but beleieve so many that made presentments unto him. The degree of Gentlemen he railed at continually, as devoted wholly to the Stage and shew-place. Being highly displeased upon a time with the multitude favouring as they did the contrary faction² to his, 'Would God,' quoth he, 'that the people of Rome had but one neck.' And when Tetrinius Latro [*i.*, Robber] was by them called for to fight at sharpe he said, That they also who called for him were *Tetrinii*³ every one. It fortun'd that five of these *Retiarii*⁴ fighting in their single coates, and together by companies, had without any combat yeelded themselves as overcome to as many other Champions or Fencers called *Secutores*.⁵ Now when commaundement was given (by the people) that they should be killed, one takes me up his Trout-speare againe into his hand and slew all the other five who were thought the Conquerours. This slaughter he both bewailed in an Edict as most cruell, and also cursed them that endured to see the sight.

¹ Atreus.

² Of Chariotiers, for he favoured the greene Liverie.

³ Worthy and meet to be put to sword-fight.

⁴ So named of a net that they used in fight to catch their adversarie with: they handled also a weapon with three tines or pikes like a Trout-speare. They were called *Threcos*.

⁵ Otherwise, *Mirmillones*. These were armed, whereas the *Retiarii* were lightly appointed, and *Tunicati*, traversing their ground nimbly, and seeming otherwhile to flie: whereupon the others took their name, *Secutores*, as following them.

Hee was wont moreover to complaine openly of the condition of his time wherein he lived, as not renowned by any publick calamities: whereas the raigne of Augustus was memorable for the overthrow of Varus: that of Tiberius ennobled by the fall of scaffolds in the Theater at Fidenæ. As for himselfe, like hee was to be forgotten, (such was the prosperity in his daies). And evermore he wished the carnage and execution of his armies: Famine, Pestilence, and Skarfires, or some opening chinks of the ground.

Even whiles he was at his recreations and disports, whiles he set his mind upon gaming and feasting, the same cruelty practised he both in word and deed. Oftentimes as hee sate at dinner or banquetted, were serious matters examined in his very sight by way of torture: and the Souldiour that had the skill and dexterity to behead folke, then and there used to cut off the heads of any prisoners indifferently without respect. At Puteoli, when he dedicated the bridge, which as we noted before, was his owne invention: after hee had invited many unto him from the shore and strond, suddainly hee turned them all headlong over the bridge into the water. And seeing some of them taking hold of the helmes¹ for to save themselves, he shooved and thrust them off, with poles and oares into the sea. At a public feast in Rome, there chaunced a servant to pluck-off a thin plate of silver from the table: and for this, immediately hee delivered him to the hang-man for to be executed; namely to have his hands cut off, and hung about his neck just before his brest with a written Title caried before him declaring the cause of this his punishment; and so to be led around about all the companies as they sat at meate. One of these Fencers called *Mirmilliones*, coming out of the Fence-schoole plaied at wooden wasters with him, and there tooke a fall for the nonce, and lay along at his feete: him he stabbed for his labour, with a short yron skeine that hee had: and withall, after the solemne manner of Victors, ranne up and downe with his garland of Date tree branches. There was a beast

¹ For this bridge was made of barks.

brought to the Altar ready to be killed for Sacrifice: he comes girt in habite of these Beast-slayers, and with the axe head that he lifted up on high, knocked downe the Minister himself, who addressed to cut the said beasts throat, and so dashed his braines out. At a plenteous feast where there was great cheere, he set up all at once an unmeasurable laughter: and when the Consuls who sate just by him asked gently and with faire language, Whereat he laughed so? 'At what else,' quoth he 'but this, That with one nod of my head, I can have both your throats cut immediately.'

Among divers and sundry jests and merie conceits of his, as he stoode once hard by the image of Jupiter, he demaunded of Apelles an actour of Tragædies, whether of the twaine he thought to be the greater and more stately, Jupiter or himselfe. And whiles he made some stay ere he answered, he all to tare and mangled him with whipping cheere, praising ever and anone his voice crying unto him for mercy, as passing sweet and pleasant, even when he groned also under his lashes. So often as he kissed the neck of wife or concubine, he would say withall, 'As faire and lovely a neck as this is, off it shall goe if I doe but speake the word.' Moreover, he gave it forth many a time, That he would himselfe fetch out of his wife Cæsonia, though it were with Lute-strings,¹ what was the reason that he loved her so entirely.²

Neither raged he with lesse envie and spitefull malice, than pride and cruelty, against persons, in manner, of all times and ages. The Statues of brave and worthy men brought by Augustus out of the Capitoll Courtyard for the straightnesse of the place, into Mars-field, he overthrew and cast here and there in such sort, as they could not be set up againe with the Titles and Inscriptions whole: forbidding that ever after there should be any where Statue or Image erected unto any person living, without his advice asked and

¹ By cramping and torturing her therewith.

² He suspected that she had given him some love-drinks.

graunt passed. He was of minde also to abolish Homers verses: 'For why may not I,' quoth he, 'doe that which Plato lawfully did, who banished him out of the Cittie that he framed and ordeined?' The writings likewise and images of Virgill and T. Livius, he went within a litle of remooving out of all libraries. The one of these he carped, as a man of no witte and verie meane learning: the other, for his ver-bositie and negligence in penning his Historie. Moreover, as touching Lawiers, (as if he meant to take away all of their skill and knowledge) he cast out these words many times, That he would surely bring it to passe, they should be able to give none other answere nor counsell than according to reason and æquitie.

He took from the noblest personages that were, the olde armes and badges of their houses: from Torquatus the collar: from Cincinnatus the curled lock of haire: and from Cn. Pompeius,¹ of an ancient stocke descended, the surname of Magnus belonging to that linage. As for King Ptolemeus, (of whom I made report before) when he had both sent for him out of his realme and also honorably intertained him he slewe all of a sodaine, for no other cause in the World but for that as he entred into the Theatre to see the shewes and games there exhibited, hee perceived him to have turned the eyes of all people upon him, with the resplendent brightnesse of his purple cassocke. All such as were faire, and caried a thick bush of haire growne long, so often as they came in his way, he disfigured by shaving their heads all behind. There was one Esius Proculus (whose father had beene a principall capitaine of the formost cohort) for his exceeding tall personage and lovely favour withall named Colosseros.² Him hee caused sodainly to be pulled downe from the scaffold where he sat, and to be brought into the plaine within the lists:

¹ Who afterwards married the daughter of Claudius the Emperour.

² Colosseros seemeth to be a word compounded of *Colossos* and *Eros*. The one importeth his talnesse, resembling the stately and giantlike personages called Colossi, and the other, his lovely visage, representing Eros, even Love, or Cupid it selfe.

where he matched him in fight with a sword-fenser of that sort which he called *Threces*, and afterwards with another, all armed.¹ Now when he had given the foile twice, and gotten the upper hand, he commanded him forthwith to be pinniond and bound fast, and being put into foule and overworne clothes to be led round about the streets to be shewed unto women, and so to have his throat cut in the end. To conclude there was none of so base and abject condition, nor of so meane estate, whose commodities and good parts he depraved not. Against the great Prelat stiled by the name K. Nemorensis,² because he had many years already enjoyed his sacerdotall dignitie he suborned under hand a comcurrent and adversarie mightier than himselfe. When as upon a certaine day of publike games, there was a greater applause and more clapping of hands than ordinarie at Popius the fenser, manumising his slave for joy of the fortunate combate which hee had made, he flung out of the Theatre in such haste, that treading upon his own gown skirt he came tumbling down the staires with his head forward: chafing and fuming, yea and crying out that the people of Rome, Lords of all nations, yelded more humour, and that out of a most vaine and frivolous occasion unto a sword-fenser, than to consecrated Princes, or to himselfe there in personall presence.

No regard had he of chastitie and cleannesse, eyther in himselfe or in others. M. Lepidus Mnester the Pantomime, yea, and certain hostages he kept and loved as the speech went, by way of reciprocall commerce in mutuall impurity, doing and suffering against kind. Valerius Catullus, a yong gentleman descended from a familie of Consuls degree, complained and openly cried out, that hee was unnaturally by

¹ [The *Threx* had no armor, the *Hoplomachus* a shield and helmet.]

² The priest, called *Rex Nemorensis*, of a place where Diana Arcina was worshipped, within a temple beautified with a grove about it, by a barbarous custome of the Scithians, so long onely held his place, untill after one yeares revolution, some one stronger than himselfe, stepped unto him and overcame him in single fight, and so deposed him, like as, by the first institution, himselfe, foyling another in combat attained thereto.

him abused, and that his verie sides were wried, and tyred out with his filthie companie. Over and above the incests committed with his owne sisters, and his love so notorious of Pirallis that common and prostitute strumpet, there was not lightly a dame or wife of anie worship and reputation that hee forbare. And those for the most part would he invite together with their husbands to supper: and as they passed by at his feete, peruse and consider curiously; taking leasure thereto after the maner of those that cheapen and buy wares in ouvert market: yea and with his hand chocke them under the chin and make them to looke up, if happily any of them in modesty and for bashfulnesse held downe their faces. And then so often as he listed, out he goes from the refec-tion roome, and when he had called her unto him apart that liked him best, hee would within a little after (even whiles the tokens were yet fresh testifying their wanton worke) re-turue: and openly before all the companie, eyther praise or dispraise her: reckoning up everie good or bad part of bodie and action in that brutish businesse. To some of them, him-selfe sent bills and divorcement in the name of their husbands absent, and commanded the same to be set upon the file and stand in publik record.

In the riotous and wastfull expense,¹ he outwent the wits and inventions of all the prodigal spendthrifts that ever were; as having devised a new found manner and use of baines, together with most strange and monstrous kinds of meats and meales: namely, to bath with hote and cold ointments: to drinke off and quaffe most pretious and costly pearles dissolved in vinegar: to set upon the bourd at feasts loaves of bread and other viands to them before his guests, all of golde, saying commonly withall, That a man must either be frugall or els Cæsar. Moreover for certaine dayes together, he flung

¹ Seneca writeth, *Consolat. ad Helv.*, That it was ordinarie with him to consume at one supper ten millions of sesterces, and who studied himselfe, and laid his head to others, how he might at one supper make an even hand with the revenewes and tributes of all the provinces belonging to the state of Rome.

and scattered among the common people from the Louver of the stately Hall Julia, mony in peeces of no meane valew. He built moreover tall galliasses of ceder timber, with poupes and sternes beset with precious stones, carying sailes of sundrie colours, conteyning in them baines, large galleries, walking places, and dining chambers of great receipt: with vines also and trees bearing apples and other fruit in as much varietie: wherein he would sit feasting in the very day time among quires of musicians and melodious singers, and so saile along the costs of Campania. In building of stately Pallaces and mannor houses in the countrey he cast aside all rules and orders as one desirous to do nothing so much as that which was thought impossible to be done. And therefore he laid foundations of piles where the sea was most raging and deep withal, and hewed rocks of most hard flint and rag: plains also he raised even with mountaines and by digging down hill tops levelled them equall with the plaines: all with incredible celeritie: as punishing those who wrought but slowly even with death. In summ, (and not to reckon up everie thing in particular) that infinite wealth and masse of Treasure which Tiberius Cæsar left behind him valued at 2700 millions of Sesterces, hee consumed to nothing, before one whole yeare was gone about.

Being exhaust therefore and growen exceeding bare, he turned his mind to rapine and polling by sundrie and most nice points; of forged calumnation, of sales, of imposts and taxes. He affirmed plainely, that those held not by lawe and rightfully the freedome of Rome Cittie, whose Auncestours had obtained the grant thereof in these tearmes, to them and their posteritie: unlesse they were sonnes: for, by *Posterit*, i. Posterity, quoth he, ought to be understood none beyond this degree of descent. And when the Letters-pattents and graunts of Julius and Augustus, (late Emperours of sacred memorie) were brought forth as evidences, he bewailed the same as olde, past date and of no validitie. Hee charged those also with false valuation and wrong certificate of their estates, unto whom there had accrued afterward (upon what cause soever) any encrease of substance. The last willes and

testamentes of such as had beene principall Centurions of the formost Cohorts, as many I say, as from the beginning of Tiberius Empire, had left neither the sayd Tiberius, nor himselve Heire, he canceled for their unthankfulnesse: of all the rest likewise, he held the wils as voide, and of none effect: in case any person would come forth and say, that they purposed and intended, at their death to make Cæsar their Heire. Upon which feare that hee put men in, beeing now both by unknowen persons unto him, nominated Heire among their familiar friends, and also by parents among their children, he tearmed them all mockers and cousiners, for that after such nuncupative wils they continued stil alive: and to manie of them he sent certaine dainties empoisoned. Now such causes as these above-saide he heard judicially debated: having before hand set downe a certaine rate and summe of money, for the raising whereof he sat judicially in Court: and when that summe was fully made up, then and not before hee would arise. And (as he was one who in no wise could abide any little delay) he condemned upon a time by vertue of one definitive sentence above fortie persons, liable to judgement for diverse and sundry crimes: making his boast withall unto his wife Cæsonia newly wakened out of her sleepe, What a deale he had done, while she tooke her noones repose. Having published an open port-sale of the residue remaining of furniture provided to set out all shews and games, he caused the said parcels to be brought forth and sold: setting the prices thereof himselve and exhaustsing the same to such a prick, that some men enforced to buye certaine things at an extreame and exceeding rate (whereby they were empoverished and stript of all their goods) cut their owne veines and so bled to death. Well knownen it is that whiles Aponius Saturninus tooke a nap and slept among the seats and stauls where these sales were held, Caius put the Bedell in mind not to let slip and overpasse such an honorable person of Pretours degree as he was: considering, quoth he, that with his head he had so often nodded and made signes unto him,¹ and thus taking that occasion, he never rested raising the

¹ As it were, to buy this and that.

price whiles he sat and nodded stil, untill there were fastened upon the man, (ignorant God wote, altogether of any such matter) thirteene sword-fensers, at nine millians of Sesterces.

In Gaule likewise, when he had sould the jewels, ornaments, and household-stuffe of his sisters ¹ by him condemned; their servants also and verie children at excessive high prices: finding sweetnesse in the gaine growing thereupon and thereby drawen on to proceede in that course, looke what furniture belonged to the old imperiall Court, hee sent for it all from the Cittie of Rome: for the cariage whereof, hee tooke up even the passengers wagons that usually were hired, yea the very jades which served mils and backehouses: in so much, as manie times there wanted bread in Rome: and a number of Termers, such as had matters depending in lawe, for that they could not make their appearance in Court at their dayes appointed, by absence lost their suits. For the selling of which furniture, there was no fraude, no guile, no deceitful allurements to be devised that he used not: one while checking each one for their avarice, and rating them because they were not ashamed to be richer than he: otherwhiles making semblance of repentance, in that he permitted persons to have the buying of such things as belonged to the Empire: intelligence was given unto him, that a certaine wealthy and substantiall man in that province, had paide 200000 sesterces unto his officers (who had the bidding of guests unto his owne table) that by some suttile shift, himselfe might be foisted in among other guests: neither was he discontented that the honor of supping with him was prized so high. The morrow after therfore, as this provinciall man was sitting at a publike portsale, hee sent one of purpose to tender and deliver unto him some frivolous trifle (I wot not what) at the price of 200000 sesterces: and withall to say unto him, That take a supper he should with Cæsar, as a guest invited by his owne selfe.

He levied and gathered new tributes and imposts, such as never were heard of before: at the first by the hands of

¹ Livilla and Agrippina.

Publicanes; and afterward (by reason of the excessive gaires that came in) by the Centurions and Tribunes of the Pretorian cohorts. For he omitted no kind of things, no manner of person, but he imposed some tribute upon them. For all cates that were to be solde throughout the Citie, there was exacted a certaine taxation and set paiement. For actions, for suits, for judgements wheresoever commensed or drawn in writing, the fortieth part of the whole summe in suite went to his share in the name of a tribute: not without a penaltie, in case anie one were convinced, to have eyther grown to composition or given the thing in question. The eighth part of the pore porters and Carriers daies-wages: out of the gets also and takings of common strumpets, as much as they earned by once lying with a man, was payed *nomine tributi*. Moreover to the chapter of the law, this branch was annexed, that there should bee liable to this tribute, not onely the parties themselves that by trade of harlotry gat their living, but even they likewise who kept houses of bawderie: as also that wedded persons should paye for their use of mariage.

After these and such like taxes were denounced by proclamation, but not yet published abroad in writing, when as through ignorance of the written lawe many trespasses and transgressions were committed: at length, upon instant demaund of the people, he proposed indeed the act, but written in very small letter and within as narrow a place, so that no man might exemplifie the same or copie it out. And to the end that there might bee no kinde of spoile and pillage which he attempted not, he set up a stewes and brothelhouse in the verie Palace, with many roomes and chambers therein distinguished asunder, and furnished according to the dignity and worth of that place. In it there stood to prostitute themselves, married wives, youths and springals free borne. Then sent he all about to the frequented places as well markets as Halles of resort, certaine *Nomenclatours*, to invite and call thither by name, young men and olde, for to fulfill and satisfie their lust. All comers at their entrance payde money (as it were) for usurie and interest. Certaine persons also were appointed to take note in open sight, of their names, as

of such as were good friends increasing the revenewes of Cæsar. And not disdeining so much as the lucre and vantage arising out of hazard and dice-play, hee gained the more by cogging, lying, yea and forswearing (of gamesters). And upon a time, having put over to his next fellow gamester his owne course, to cast the dice for him in his turne: out he goes into the court-yard and foregate of the house: where, having espied two wealthy gentlemen of Rome passing by, he commanded them to be apprehended incontinently, and condemned in the confiscation of their goods: which done he returnd in againe, leaping for joy and making his vaunt, That he never had a luckier hand at dice.

But when he had once a daughter borne, complaining then of his povertie and the heavie charges that lay upon him not onely as Emperour, but also as father, he gently tooke the voluntarie contributions and benevolence of men toward the finding of the girle her food, as also for her Dowry another day. He declared also by an edict, that he would receive newyeares gifts: and so he stood the first day of Januarie, in the porch or entrie of his house Palatine, readie to take what peeces soever of money came, which the multitude of all sorts and degrees, with full hands and bosomes poured out before him. Finally, so farre was he incensed with the desire of handling money, that oftentimes he would both walke bare-footed up and down, yea and wallow also a good while with his whole body upon huge heapes of coyned gold peeces, spred here and there in a most large and open place.

In militarie matters and warlike affaires he never dealt but once: and that was not upon any intended purpose: but what time as he had made a progresse to Mevonta, for to see the sacred grove and river of Clitumnus; being put in mind to supply and make up the number of the Batavians whom he had about him for his guard, it tooke him in the head to make an expedition into Germanie. Neither deferred he this disignement, but having levied from al parts a power consisting of legions and auxiliarie forces; and taken musters most rigorously in every quarter, as also raised and gathered to-

gether victuals and provisions of al sorts in that quantity, as never any other before him the like, he put himselfe on his journey. Wherein he marched, one while in such hurrie and haste, as that the Pretorian cohorts were forced (against the manner and custome) to bestowe their ensignes upon the sumpter beasts backs and so to follow after: otherwhiles, after such a slow and delicate manner, as that he would be carried in a litter upon eight mens shoulders, and exact of the common people inhabiting the neighbour cities adjoyning, that the high waies might be swept and watered for the dust, against his comming.

After that he was arrived once at the campe, to the end that he might shew himselfe a sharpe and severe Captaine: those Lieutenants who had brought aid with the latest, out of divers and dissituate parts, he discharged with ignominie and shame. But in the review of his armie the most part of the Centurions who had alreadie served out their complete time, yea and some whose terme within very few dayes would have beene fully expired, he deprived of their places: to wit, the leading of the formost bands, finding fault forsooth with the olde age and feeblenesse of every one. As for the rest, after hee had given them a rebuke for their avarice, he abridged the fees and availes due for their service performed; and brought that same downe to the valew of 6000 sesterces. And having atchieved no greater exploit, than taken to his mercie, Adminius the sonne of Cinobellinus King of the Britains, who being by his father banished, was fled over sea with a small power and traine about him, he sent magnificent and glorious letters to Rome, as if the whole Isle had beene yeilded into his hands: warning and willing the carriers ever and anon, to ride forward in their wagon directly into the market place and the *Curia*, and in no wise to deliver the sayd messives but in the Temple of Mars unto the Consuls, and that in a frequent assembly of the Senate.

Soone after, when there failed matter of warre, he commanded a few Germanes of the Corps de guard,¹ to be trans-

¹ i., prisoners in ward.

ported and hidden on the other side of Rhene, and that news should be reported unto him after dinner in most tumultuous manner, That the enemy was come: which done, he made what haste hee could, and together with some of his friends and part of the Pretorian horsemen he entred the next wood: where after he had cut off the heads of trees and adorned their bodies in manner of *Tropæes*, hee returned into the Campe by torch-light. As for those verily who followed him not in this service, he reproved and checked them for their timorousnesse and cowardise: but his companions and partners in this douty victorie, he rewarded with a new kind and and as strange a name of Coronets: which being garnished and set out with the expresse forme of Sunne, Moone, and Stars he called *Exploratorias*.¹ Againe, when as certaine hostages were had away² perforce out of the Grammer schoole, and privily sent before, he suddenly left his supper, and with his men or armes pursued them as runawaies, and beeing overtaken and caught againe he brought them backe as prisoners bound in chaines, shewing himselfe even in this enterlude also, beyond all measure insolent and intemperate. Now after he was come backe to supper, those who brought him word that the battailes were rallied and come forward in safetie, hee exhorted to sit downe to meate armed as they were in their Corselets: yea and advertised them out of that most vulgar Verse of Virgil: *Durarent, Secundisque rebus se servarent, i.*

Still to endure in all assayes
And keepe themselves for better dayes.

Moreover, amid these affaires, he rebuked most sharply in a proclamation, the Senate and people both, in their absence: for that whiles Cæsar fought battailes and was exposed to so many perils, they could so unseasonably celebrate feastes, haunt also the Cirque, the Theatres, and their retyring places of solace and pleasure.

¹ Fore-riders, to discover the enemy.

² By his means.

Last of all, as if he meant now to make a finall dispatch for ever of the warr, having embattailed his armie upon the Ocean shore, planted his balists and other engins of Artillerie in their severall places, (and no man wist the while or could imagine what he went about) all at once he commanded them to gather fish-shels, and therewith to fill their headpeeses and laps, tearing them the spoiles of the Ocean, due to the Capitoll and the Palatium. In token also and memoriall of this brave victorie, he raised an exceeding high turret, out of which as from a watch-towre, there might shine all night long lights and fires for the better direction of ships at sea in their course. And after hee had pronounced publickely a donative to his Souldiours, even an hundred good Deniers a peece; as if thereby hee had surmounted all former precedents of liberality, 'Now goe your waies,' quoth hee, 'with joy. Goe your wayes I say, enriched and wealthy.'¹

Turning his minde after this to the care of his Triumph, hee selected and set apart for the pompe (over and above the Captives and runnagate Barbarians) the tallest men of Stature also that were to be found in Gaule: and everie one that (as hee saide himselfe) was *axiothriambeutos*, that is, worthy to be seene in a Triumph, yea and some of the Nobles and principall persons of that Nation: whom hee compelled not onely to colour the haire of their heads yellow like burnished gold, and to weare the same long: but also to learne the Germanes language, and to beare barbarous names. He gave commaundement also, that the Gallies with three rankes of Oares, wherein hee had imbarqued and entred the Ocean, should bee convaied to Rome, a great part of the way by land. Hee wrote likewise unto his procuratours and Officers, To provide the furniture of his triumph, with as little cost as might be: but yet the same in as ample manner as never before was the like, seeing they had both might and right to seize all mens goods into their hands.

Before his departure out of that Province, hee intended

¹ As if with 3l. 2s. 6 pence, they had beene made for ever.

the execution of an horrible and abhominable designment; even to put to sword those Legions, which long a-goe upon the decease of Augustus, had made a commotion: because, forsooth, they had beset both his father Germanicus their Captaine, and himselfe also, then an Infant. And being hardly and with much a-doe reclaimed from such a rash and inconsiderate project, yet could hee by no means be stayed: but stifly persisted in a full minde and will to tith them.¹ When hee had summoned them therefore to a publique assembly, unarmed, and without their swords which they had put off and bestowed heere and there, he environed them with his Cavallerie all armed. But seeing once, that many of them suspecting where-about he went, slipped away in sundry places for to resume their weapons if any violence were offered, himselfe abandoned the assembly and fled, taking his direct way immediately to the Citie of Rome, diverting all his bitterness and crueltie upon the Senate: whom, (to avert from himselfe the odious rumours of so great and shamefull villanies) hee openly threatned; complaining among other matters that he was by them defrauded and put by his just and due triumph: whereas, himselfe but a little before, had intimated and denounced upon paine of death, that they should not make nor meddle in any matter about his honours.

Being encountered therefore and met upon the way by Embassadors from that most honourable Order,² entreating him to make speed: with a most loud voice, 'Come I will,' quoth he, 'I will come, I say and this with me heere,' beating oft upon the swords hilt, which he ware by his side. He made it knowne also by an Edict, That he returned in deede, but it was to them alone who wished it, namely, the degree of Gentlemen and the common people. For himselfe would be no longer a Citizen or Prince to the Senate. He commaunded moreover, That not one of the Senatours should meete him. And thus, either omitting quite or putting of

¹ i. To kill every tenth man of them.

² Of Senators.

his triumph, hee entred the Citie riding ovant, upon his very birth-day: and within foure moneths after came to his end, having attempted and done notable outrages and very great villanies, but plotting still and practising much greater. For hee had purposed to remove his imperiall Court to Antium, and afterwards to Alexandria: but having massacred first the most choise and chiefe persons of both degrees.¹ And that no man may seeme to doubt heereof, there were in his secret Cabinet found two bookes bearing divers titles. The one had for the Inscription *Gladius, i. the sword*: the other, *Pugio*, that is to say, the dagger. They contained both of them the markes and names of such as were appointed to death. There was found besides, a bigge chest full of divers and sundry poisons, which soone after being by Claudius drowned in the Seas, infected and poisoned the same, not without the deadly bane of fishes killed therewith, which the tide cast up to the next shores.

Of Stature hee was very tall, pale and wan-coloured: of body grosse and without all good making: his neck and shanks exceeding slender: his eyes sunke in his head, and his temples hollow, his forehead broad, and the same furrowed and frowning: the haire of his head growing thinne, and none at all about his crowne: in all parts else hairie he was and shagged. It was therefore taken for an hainous and capitall offence, either to looke upon him as he passed by from an higher place, or once but to name a Goate upon any occasion whatsoever. His face and visage being naturally sterne and grim, hee made of purpose more crabbed and hideous: composing and dressing it at a looking-glasse, all manner of waies to seeme more terrible and to strike greater feare. He was neither healthfull in body nor stode sound in minde; being a child, much troubled with the falling sicknesse. In his youth, patient of labour and travaile: yet so, as that ever and anone upon a suddaine fainting that came upon him, he was scarce able to goe, to stand, to arise, to recover himselfe, and beare up his head. The infirmitie

¹ Senatours and gentleman.

of his minde, both himselfe perceived, and oftentimes also was minded to goe aside (unto Anticyra), there to purge his braine throughly. It is for certaine thought, that poysoned he was with a Potion given unto him by his wife Cæsonia: which in deede was a love medicine, but such an one, as crackt his wits and enraged him. He was troubled most of all with want of sleepe; for, he slept not above three houres in a night: and in those verily he tooke no quiet repose, but fearefull; and skared with strange illusions and fantastickall imaginations: as who among the rest, dreamed upon a time that hee saw the very forme and resemblance of the sea talking with him. And heereupon for a great part of the night, what with tedious wakefulnesse and wearinesse of lying, one while sitting up in his bed, another while roaming and wandering too and fro in his Galleries (which were of an exceeding length) hee was wont to call upon and looke still for the day-light.

I should not doe amiss, if unto this mindes sicknesse of his I attributed the vices which in one and the same subject were of a most different nature: to wit, excessive confidence, and contrariwise, overmuch fearefulnesse. For, hee that set so light by the Gods and despised them as hee did, yet at the least thunder and lightning, used to winke close with both eyes, to enwrap also and cover his whole head: but if the same were greater and somewhat extraordinarie, to start out of his bed, to creepe and hide himselfe under the bed-steede. During his peregrination verily and travaile through Sicilie, after hee had made but a scorne and mockerie at the miracles and strange sights in manie parts there, he fled suddainely by night from Messana, as affrighted with the smoake and rumbling noise of the top of Ætna. And hee that against the Barbarians was so full of threats and menaces, when as beyond the river Rhene he rode in a Germanes Chariot betweene the Streights, and the Armie marched in thicke squadrons together: by occasion onely that one saide, There would be no small trouble and hurliburly, in case the enimie from any place appeared in sight: forthwith hee mounted on horsebacke and turned hastily to the bridges: but finding

them full of Camp-slaves and cariages wherewith they were choaked, as one impatient of any delay, he was from hand to hand and over mens heads conveyed to the other side of the water. Soone after likewise, hearing of the revolt and rebellion of Germanie, hee provided to flie; and for the better meanes of flight, prepared and rigged shippes: resting and staying himselfe upon this onely comfort: That hee should yet have Provinces beyond sea remaining for him, in case the Conquerours following the traine of their victorie, either seized the Hill tops of the Alpes (as sometimes the Cimbrians), or possessed themselves of the very Citie of Rome, as the Senones in times past did. Heereupon I verily beleieve that the murderers of him afterwards devised this shift, namely to hold up his Souldiours with a loude lie when they were in an uprore, and to beare them in hand that hee laide violent hands on himselfe, affrighted at the fearefull newes of the field lost.

As for his apparrell, his shooes and other habite, hee wore them neither after his owne Country-guise, nor in a civile fashion, no nor so much as in manlike manner, nor yet alwaies, I may tell you, sorting with the state and condition of a mortall wight. Beeing clad oftentimes in cloakes of needleworke and embroidered with divers colours, and the same set out with pretious stones: in a coate also with long sleeves: and wearing bracelets withall, hee would come abroade into the Citie. Sometime you should see him in his silkes, and veiled all over in a loose mantle of fine Sendall¹ with a traine: one while going in Greekish slippers,² or else in buskins: otherwhiles in a simple paire of broges or high shooes, such as common Souldiours employed in espiall used. Now and then also was he seene shod with womens pumps. But for the most part he shewed himselfe abroade with a golden beard³ carying in his hand either a thunderbolt or a

¹ Lawne or Tiffanie.

² Or Pantofles.

³ Which ornament belonged to Jupiter and Æsculapius.

three-tined mace,¹ or else a warder or rod called Caduceus² (the ensignes all and ornaments of the Gods) yea and in the attire and array of Venus. Now, for his triumphall robes and ensignes hee used verily to weare and beare them continually, even before any warlike expedition: and sometime the cuirace withall of K. Alexander the great, fetcht out of his Sepulcher and monument.

Of all the liberall Sciences, hee gave his minde least to deepe literature and sound learning: but most, to eloquence: albeit he was (by nature) faire spoken and of a ready tongue. Certes if it had beene to pleade and declame against one, were he angred once, he had both words and sentences at will. His action, gesture and voice also served him well: in so much as for very heate and earnestnesse of speech, uneth was he able to stand his ground and keepe still in one place, yet might hee bee heard nothlesse of them that stooode a farre off. When he was about to make an Oration, his manner was to threaten in these termes, namely: That he would draw forth and let drive at his adversarie the keene weapon and dart of his night-studie by candle light; contemning the milder and more piked kinde of writing so farre forth, as that hee said of Seneca, a writer in those daies most accepted, That his compositions which he made were plaine exercises to bee shewed onely: and was no better himselfe, than sand without lime. His wont was also, to answere by writing the Orations of those Oratours who had pleaded well and with applause: to meditate and devise as well accusations and defences of great persons and waighty matters in the Senate; and according as his stile framed, either to over-charge and depresse, or to ease and relieve every man with his sentence: having called thither by virtue of his Edicts, the degree also of Gentlemen to heare him speake.

The Arts moreover and maisteries of other kinds hee

¹ [Emblem of Neptune.]

² The Ensigne of Mercury.

practised right studiously, even those of most different nature. A professed Sword-fencer he was and a good Chariotier: a singer withall and a dauncer. Fight hee would even in earnest with weapons at sharpe: and runne a race with chariots in the open Cirque, which he built in many places. As for chaunting and dauncing, he was so hotly set there-upon, that hee could not forbear so much as in the publick Theaters and Shew-places, but that hee would both fall a singing with the Tragædian as he pronounced, and also counterfaite and openly imitate the gesture of the player, as it were by way of praise or correction. And verily, for no other cause proclaimed hee (as it is thought) a wake or Vigile all night long, that very day on which hee was murdered, but that by taking the opportunity of the nights licentiousnesse he might therewith begin to enter upon the Stage. And divers times daunced he by night: but once above the rest, having raised out of their beds three honourable persons that had beene Consuls, and sent for them at the reliefe of the second watch into the Palace; whiles they were much afraid and doubted some extremity he caused them to be placed aloft upon a scaffold, and then suddainly with a great noise of hautbois and sound of shawlnes or Cimbals, out commeth he leaping forth with a palle and cassocke reaching downe to his ankles; and after hee had daunced out the measures to a song, vanished and went his way againe. Now, this man so apt a schollar as hee was to learne all other feates, had no skill at all in swimming.

Looke, whom he tooke a love and liking unto, he favoured them all exceedingly and beyond all reason. Mnester the famous Pantomime he affected so much, as that he bashed not to kisse him even in the open Theater; and if any whiles he was dauncing or acting a part, made never so little noise and interrupted him, he commaunded the party to be pulled out of his place, and with his owne hand scourged him. A Gentleman of Rome chaunced to keepe some sturre whiles the said Mnester was upon the Stage: unto him hee sent word peremptorily by a Centurion to depart without delay, and goe downe to Ostia (there to take Sea) and so to carie

unto King Ptolomæus as farre as into Mauritania his letters in writing tables, the tenour whereof was this, 'To this bearer, whom I have sent hither to you, see you doe neither good nor harme.' Certaine Fencers called *Thraces* hee made Capitaines over those Germanes that were of his Guard and Squires to his body. As for the *Mirmillones*, hee deprived them of their armour. One of them named Columbus, fortunèd to foile his concurrent, howbeit hee had gotten before some small hurt: he made no more adoe but put poison into the wound, which thereupon he called Columbinum. So much addicted and devoted was he, to the greene faction of Chariotiers, that day by day hee would take his suppers and make his abode in their hostellerie. Upon Eutychus a Chariot-driver, he bestowed in hospitall gifts at a certaine banquet, two millions of sesterces. To one of their Chariot-steedes named Incitatus, for whose sake (because he should not be disquieted), he was wont the day before the games *Circenses*, by his Souldiours to commaund the neighbours there adjoyning to keepe silence, besides a Stable all built of marble stone for him, and a manger made of Ivorie: over and above his caparison also and harnois of purple, together with a brooch or pendant Jewell of pretious stones at his poictrell: he allowed an house and familie of servants, yea and household-stuffe to furnish the same: all to this end, that guests invited in his name might be more finely and gaily entertained. It is reported moreover that he meant to preferre him unto a Consulship.

As he rioted thus and fared outrageously, many there were who wanted no hart and good will to assault his person. But after one or two conspiracies detected, when others for default of opportunitie held-of and made stay, two at length complotted and imparted one unto the other their designment, yea and performed it; not without the privitie of the mightiest freed-men about him, and the Capitaines of his Guard. The reason was, for that they also, beeing nominated (although untruly) as accessarie to a certaine conspiracie, perceived themselves suspected and odious unto him therefore. For, even immediately, by sequestering them a

part into a secret place he brought upon them great hatred, protesting with his sword drawne, That die he would upon his owne hand, if they also thought him worthy of death. Neither ceased hee from that time forward to accuse one unto the other, and to set them all together by the eares. Now when these Conspiratours were resolved and agreed to assaile him during the Palatine games, as he departed thence out of the Theater at noone-tide, Cassius Cherea Tribune of the Pretorian Cohort tooke upon him to play the first part in this Action: even hee, whom being now farre stept in yeeeres Caius [Caligula] was wont to frump and flout in most opprobrious termes as a wanton and effeminate person: and one while, when he came unto him for a watch-word, to give him Priapus or Venus: another while, if upon any occasion he rendered thanks, to reach out unto him his hand, not onely fashioned but wagging also after an obscène and filthy manner.

Many prodigious signes were seene, presaging his future death and murder. The image of Jupiter at Olympia, which his pleasure was to bee disjointed and translated to Rome, did set up all on a suddaine such a mighty laughter that the workmen about it, let their Engines and Vices slip and so ranne all away. And straight-waies came there one in place whose name also was Cassius, that vouched, he had warning and commaundement in a dreame to sacrifice a Bull unto Jupiter. The Capitol in Capua upon the Ides of March was smitten with lightning. Likewise at Rome the Porters lodge belonging to the Princes Palace. And there wanted not some who gave their conjecture, that by the one Prodigie was portended danger to the Master of the house from his Guard and the Squires of his person: by the other some notable murder againe, such as in times past had beene committed upon the same day.¹ Also, Sulla the Astrologer, when Caius asked his counsell and opinion, as touching the Horoscope of his Nativitie, told him plaine, That most certaine and inevitable death approached neere at hand. Sem-

¹ Meaning the murder of Caius Julius Cæsar Dictator.

blably the Oracle at Antium, gave him a caveat, to beware of Cassius. For which very cause, hee had taken order and given expresse commaundement, that Cassius Longinus Proconsull then in Asia, should bee killed: not remembering that the fore-saide Chærea had to name Cassius. The day before he lost his life, he dreamt that he stooode in heaven close unto the throne of Jupiter: and that Jupiter spurned him with the great toe of his right foote, and therewith threw him downe headlong to the earth. There went also for currant prodigies and fore-tokens of his fall, even those occurrents that hapned unto him that very day, a little before he was murdered. As himselfe sacrificed, bespreinct he was with the bloud of the foule Phænicopterus. And Mnester the skilfull Actour above named, represented that very Tragædie [*Cinyra*] which whilome Neptolemus the Tragædian acted at the solemnitie of those games, wherein Philip King of the Macedonians¹ was killed. And when as in the shew or Enterlude entitled *Laureolus*,² wherein the chiefe plaier making hast to get away out of the ruine, vomited bloud, many more of the Actours in a second degree strived a vie to give some triall and experiment of the like cunning; the whole stage by that meanes flowed with bloud. Prepared there was likewise against night another shew, wherein the darke fables reported of Hell and the Infernall Spirits there, were to be exhibited and unfolded by Ægyptians and Æthiopians.³

Upon the ninth day before the Kalends of Februarie,⁴ about one of the clocke after noone: doubting with himselfe, whether he should rise to dinner or no (for that his stomacke was yet rawe and weake upon a surfaite of meate taken the day before), at last by the perswasion of his friends hee went forth. Now, when as in the very cloisture⁵ through which hee was to passe certaine boyes of noble birth sent for out of Asia (to sing Himnes, and to skirmish martially upon the

¹ The sonne of Amyntas.

² Bearing the name of a notorious theefe, crucified for his deserts.

³ Fit Actours and expositours of such an argument.

⁴ 24 of January, A.U.C. 794.

⁵ Or Vault.

Stage) were preparing themselves, he stood still and staid there to view and encourage them. And but that the leader and chiefetaine of that crew, said, He was very cold, hee would have returned and presently exhibited that shew. But what befell after this, is reported two manner of waies. Some say, that as he spake unto the said boies, Chærea came behind his back, and with a drawing blow grievously wounded his neck with the edge of his sword, giving him these words before, *Hoc age, i.* Mind this: whereupon, Cornelius Sabinus, another of the Conspiratours, encountered him a front, and ranne him through in the brest. Others write, that Sabinus, after the multitude about him was voided by the Centurions (who were privie to the Conspiracie) called for a watchword, as the manner is of souldiers, and when Caius gave him the word, Jupiter, Chærea cryed out alowde, *Accipe ratum, i.* Here take it sure: and with that, as he looked behind him, with one slash cut his chaw quite thorough, also as he lay on the ground and drawing up his limmes together cryed still, That he was yet alive, the rest of their complices with thirtie wounds dispatched and made an end of him. For, this mot, *Repete, i.* Strike againe, was the signal of them all. Some of them also thrust their swords through his privie members. At the very first noise and outcrie, his licter-bearers came running to helpe, with their litter-staves: soone after, the Germans that were the squires of his bodie came in: and as they slew some of the murderers, so they killed certaine Senatours also that were meere innocent.

He lived 29 years, and ruled the Empire three yeares 10 moneths and 8 dayes. His dead corps was conveyed secretly into the Lamian hortyards, where being scorched onely, or halfe burnt in a tumultuary and hasty funerall fire, covered it was with a few turfs of earth lightly cast over it: but afterwards, by his sisters now returned out of exile, taken up, burnt to ashes and entered. It is for certain knowen and reputed, that before this Complement was performed, the keepers of those hortyards were troubled with the walking of spirits and ghosts: and in that very house¹ wherein he was

¹ Which hee called a vault or cloyster, before.

murdred there passed not a night without some terror or fearefull object, until the very house it selfe was consumed with fire. There dyed together with him, both his Wife Cæsonia, stabbed with a sword by a Centurion, and also a daughter of his, whose braines were dashed out against a wall.

What the condition and state was of those dayes, any man may gather, even by these particulars. For neither; when this massacre was divulged and made knowen abroad, men gave credite by and by thereto; but there went a suspicion, that Caius himselfe had feigned and given out a rumour of this murder, by that meanes to sound mens minds, and find, how they stood affected unto him: nor yet had those conspiratours destined the Empire to anie one. And the Senators in recovering their antient freedome againe accorded so, as that the consuls assembled them not at the first into the *Curia*,¹ because it bare the name Julia,² but into the Capitol: yea and some of them, when their turnes came to speake, opined, That the memorie of the Cæsars should be utterly abolished and razed out, giving advise to pull downe their temples. Moreover, this hath beene observed and noted especially, That the Cæsars, who had to their forename Caius,³ beginning at him first who was slaine in the troublesome dayes of Cinna, dyed all of them a violent death.

¹ A new Senate house in lieu of *Curia Hostilia*.

² For now the name of the Cæsars and their race became odious, as oppressors of the common weale.

³ And yet wee reade not so much of Caius one of Augustus sonne, brother of Lucius.

SUETONIUS

THE HISTORIE OF TIBERIUS CLAUDIUS DRUSUS CÆSAR

HAVING passed the greatest part of his time in running thorough these and such like troubles, at length in the fiftieth yeere of age, hee [Claudius] attained to the Empire, and that by a strange and wonderfull hap. Being among others excluded by the Conspiratours that layed waite for Caius [Caligula's] life, what time they voided all the Companie about his person, under a colour as if he desired to be a part himselfe alone in some by-place, this Claudius had stept aside and retired into a lodging or parlour called Hermeum: and not long after, being affrighted at the rumour of that murder, silyly crept forth and conveied himself up into a Solar [garret] next adjoining, and there hid himselfe betweene the hangings that hung before the dore. Whiles hee lurked close there, a common Souldiour chauncing to runne too and fro that way, espied his feete, and by earnest enquirie and asking who he was, hapned to take knowledge of him: who having drawne him forth of the place (when as for feare hee fell downe humbly at his feete and tooke hold of his knees) saluted him by the name of Emperour. From thence he brought him immediately to his other fellow Souldiours, who as yet stode wavering and wist not what to doe but fare and fume. By them was he bestowed in a Lictor: and for that his owne servants were fled scattering heere and there they also by turnes one after another supported the said Lictor upon their shoulders: and so was he brought into the (Prætorian) Camp, all sad and amazed for feare: pitied also by the multitude that met him on the way, as if some innocent had been haled to execution. Being received within the trench and rampire, lodged he was alnight among the souldiours-watch

with lesse hope of his a good deale than confidence. For the Consuls together with the Senate and the cohorts of the citie-souldiers, seized the Forum and the Capitol, with a purpose to claime and recover the common libertie: and when himselfe was sent for, by a tribune of the commons into the *Curia* to sit in consultation and give his advise about those matters that were thought good to be propounded, he made answer, That detained he was perforce and by constraint. But the next morrow, when as the Senate grewe more colde and slacke in following and executing their foresaid projects, (by reason of their tedious trouble and discord who dissented in opinion) whiles the multitude also standing round about, demaunded by this time one Ruler and him [Claudius] by name, he called the Souldiours in armour to an assembly, and suffred them to take their oath of alleageance, and sweare to maintaine his imperiall dignity: therewith promised unto them 1500 Sesterces a peece: the first of all the Cæsars that obliged unto him the Souldiours fealty by a fee and reward.

Having once established his Empire [A.U.C 794] hee thought nothing more deere and behovefull than to abolish the remembrance of those two daies, wherein there was some doubtfull question about the change and alteration of the State. Of all deedes and words therefore, which had passed during that time he made an Act there should be a generall pardon and perpetuall oblivion: which also hee made good and performed accordingly. Onely, some few Colonels and Centurions, out of that crew which conspired against Caius, he put to the sword: as well for example sake, as for that he had certaine intelligence, they required to have him also murdered. Then presently turning and bending his minde to the duties of pietie and kindnesse, hee tooke up no forme of oath, either with more devout religion or oftener, than by the name of Augustus. He gave order, that for his Grandmother Livia, there should by Decree be graunted Divine honours; as also in the stately pompe of the Cirque Solemnities, a Chariot drawne with Elephants, like unto that of Augustus: semblably, for the soules of his owne parents departed, publick Dirges and Funerall feasts: and more than so, particularly

in the honour of his father Cirque-Plaies and games every yeere upon his birth-day: and in memoriall of his mother, a coach to be led and drawne along through the Cirque: and the surname of Augusta, which by his Grandmother was refused. In remembrance of his brother [Germanicus] (to celebrate whose memoriall hee omitted no occasion) hee exhibited a Greeke Comædie at the solemne Games held in Naples: where, by sentence of the Umpires and Judges he received a coronet therefore. Hee suffered not so much as M. Antonius to passe unhonoured, nor without a thankfull mention and remembrance: protesting one time, and that by an Edict, That so much the more earnest he was, to have men celebrate the Birth day of his father Drusus, because upon the same day, his Grandfather Antonius also was borne. The Marble Arch, decreed verily in times past by the Senate to be erected for Tiberius [his Unkle] neere unto the Theater of Pompeius, but for let, hee finished. And albeit hee abrogated and repealed all the Acts of Caius, yet the day of his death, although it were the beginning of his Empire, he forbad to be registred among feasts in the Kalendar.

But in honouring himselfe he was sparie, and caried a civile modestie. The fore-name of Emperour he forbare: excessive honours hee refused: the Espousals of his owne daughter, the birth-day also of his Nephew her sonne, he passed over in silence, onely celebrating it with some private ceremonie and religious complements within house. He restored no banished person, but by the authority and warrant of the Senate. That hee might bring with him into the *Curia*, the Capitaine of the Guard and Tribunes of the Souldiours: Item, that those Actes might bee ratified and stand in force, which his Procuratours had set downe in judging of causes, hee obtained by intreatie. He made suite unto the Consuls for a licence, to hold Faires and Markets, for his owne private Manors and Lands. In Commissions and Examinations of causes held by the Magistrates, he would oftentimes be personally present and sit as one of the Commissioners. To the same Magistrates, when they

exhibited any Plaies or Games, himsele also with the rest of the multitude would arise up, and both with hand and voice doe them honour. When the Tribunes of the Commons repaired unto him before the Front of his Tribunall, he excused himselfe unto them, for that by reason of straight roome hee could not give audience unto them otherwise than standing upon their feete. Therefore, within a small time hee purchased so much love and favour, as that when newes came (to Rome) that forlaied and slaine hee was in his journey to Ostia, the people in a great tumult and uprore, fell to banning and cursing both the Souldiours as Traitors, and the Senate also as Paricides: neither ceased they thus to force against them, until first one messenger, and then another, yea and soone after many more were produced by the Magistrates to the publick Rostra, who assured them that he was alive and approached homeward.

Yet continued hee not for all this secured every way from the danger of secret practises and wait-laying: but assailed hee was as well by private persons, as whole factions and conspiracies, yea and sore troubled in the end with civill warres. For there was a man, one of the Commons, taken about midnight neere unto his bed-chamber with a dagger. Found there were likewise twaine of the Gentlemens degree, in the open streete with a staffe having a blade in it, and a Hunters wood-knife waiting for him: the one to assault his person when he was gone forth of the Theater: the other as hee sacrificed at the temple of Mars. Now there had conspired to make an insurrection and to alter the State, Gallus Asinius and Statilius Corvinus, the Nephewes of Pollio and Messalla the Oratours, taking unto them for their Complices many of his owne freed-men and servants. As for civile warre, kindled it was and begun by Furius Camillus Scribonianus, Lieutenant generall of Dalmatia: but within five daies quenched cleane and suppressed; by reason that the Legions, which had chaunged their oath of alleageance, in remorce of conscience and touch of religion repented, after that upon signification given of a journey to their new Generall, neither

the *Ægles* could bee dight and trimmed, nor the militaire ensignes plucked up and removed.¹

To his first Consulship he bare foure more: of which, the two former jointlie and immediately one after another: the rest ensuing, with some time betweene, to wit, each one in the fourth yeere [A.U.C. 794, 795, 800, 804]: and as for the third, hee had no precedent for it in any other Prince, as being substituted in the voide place of a Consull deceased. A precise Justicer he was, ministring Justice, both when hee was Consull, and also being out of that Office, most painfully; even upon the solemne daies instituted for him and his: yea, and otherwhiles upon the auncient festivall daies and such as were religious. He followed not alwaies the prescript rule of lawes, moderating either the rigor or the lenity of penalties, by equity and reason, according as he stood affected to a cause: for, both unto those he restored their actions and gave leave to commense them a new, who in the Court before private Judges² had once lost their suites, by claiming more than was due: and also, such as were convict of some greater deceite and cousenage, he condemned to be cast unto wilde beasts: exceeding therein the ordinarie punishment by law appointed.

Moreover, in the examination, triall, and deciding of controversies, he was wonderous variable: one while circumspect, wary, and of great insight: otherwhiles as rash and inconsiderate: now and then also foolish, vaine, and like to one without all reason. When he reviewed upon a time the Decuries of Judges, and put whom hee thought good from their Jurisdiction: one of them, who had answered to his name, and concealed the immunity and privilege that he had by the benefit of children, he discharged quite, as a man desirous to be a Judge.³ Another of them being molested and called into question by his adversaries before him, as

¹ Ominous and unlucky signes.

² Of private matters, as *Prætors* and *Centumvirs*.

³ And therefore, ambitious.

touching a matter betweene him and them, and pleading withall for himselfe, That it was a case to be tried not extraordinarily (by Cæsar) but by the common course of Law, and in an ordinary Court of deputed Judges: he compelled immediately to handle and decide his owne cause before him: as who in his proper businesse should give prooffe how indifferent a Judge he would be heereafter in the matter of another. There was a woman that would not acknowledge her owne sonne. Now, when by evidences and arguments alleadged *pro et contra* on both sides, the question rested in equall ballance doubtfull, he awarded, that she should be wedded to the young man:¹ and so forced her to confesse the truth and to take him for her child. Most ready he was to give judgment on their side, who made appearance in Court when their adversaries were absent: without any respect and consideration, whether a man slacked and staid by his owne default, or upon some necessitie. One cried out upon a forger of writings, and required, That both his hands might be cut off. Hee made no more a-doe, but forthwith called instantly, to have the hangman sent for, with his chopping knife and butchers block, to do the deed. There hapned one to be called judiciously to the barre, For that being a forainer he bare himselfe as a Romaine Citizen: and when the advocates of both sides grew to some little variance about this circumstance, namely, Whether the party Defendant ought to make his answer and plead his owne cause in a gowne² or a cloake,³ he then, as if hee would make exceeding shew of pure and uncorrupt equitie, commaunded him to shift and change his habite often in the place, according as he was either accused or defended. Moreover, sitting in judgment to decide a certaine controversie, when he had heard what could be said, hee pronounced sentence out of a written table, as it is verily thought, to this effect, That hee judged on their side, who had alleadged the truth. For which pranks hee became base and contemptible, in so much as every where, and openly

¹ The plaintife himselfe.

² As a Citizen of Rome.

³ As a forainer.

he was despised. One, to excuse a witnesse, whom Cæsar [Claudius] had called for out of a Province, alleadged in his behalfe, and said, Hee could not possibly come in time and be present, dissimuling the cause thereof a great while: at length, after manie long demaunds, what the reason might be, 'Why,' quoth hee, 'the man is dead at Puteoli.' Another when he gave him thanks, for suffering a person accused to have the benefite of a triall and to bee defended, added more-over these wordes, 'And yet this is an usuall and ordinarie thing.' Furthermore, I my selfe have heard olde folke say, that these Lawyers and Barristers were wont to abuse his patience so much, that as hee was going downe from the Tribunall, [judgement seat] they would not onely call upon him to come backe againe, but also take hold of his gowne lappet and skirt, yea and otherwhile catch him fast by the foote, and so hold him still with them. And that no man need to mervaile heereat, there was one of these Greeke Lawyers, who pleading before him hapned in earnest altercation to let fall these words [in Greek], Thou art both old, and a foole besides. And verily it is for certaine knowne, that a Gentleman of Rome, accused before him for his obscene filthinesse and unnaturall abuse of women, (although untruly) as having an enditement framed against him by his enemies that were mighty: when he saw common strumpets cited and their depositions heard against him, flung his writing steele and the bookes which he had in his hand, with great ubraiding of him also for his foolishnesse and cruelty, even at his very face, so as he rippled and hurt therewith his cheeke not a little.

He bare also the Censureship [A.U.C 800, 801]: an office that a long time had beene discontinued, after Paulus and Plancus the Censours: but even this very place he held with an uneven hand and as variable a minde, as the event and successe ensuing. In the review taken of Romaine Gentlemen, hee dismissed without shame and disgrace, a young man charged with many infamous villanies, howbeit one whom his owne father testified upon his knowledge and triall to bee right honest: saying withall, That he had a

Censor of his owne. To another youth, who was in a very bad name for spoiling of maidens, and adulteries committed with wives, he did no more but give warning, either more sparily to spend himselfe in those young and tender yeeres of his, or else more warily at least-wise, to goe to worke: adding thus much beside, 'For why know I,' quoth hee, 'what wench thou keepest?' And when upon the intreaty of his familiar friends he had taken of the infamous note which was set upon the name one, 'Well,' quoth he, 'let the blot yet remaine still to be seene.' An honourable man and a principall personage of the Province Greece, howbeit ignorant in the Latine tongue, he not onely rased out of the ranke and roll of Judges, but also deprived of his freedom in Rome, and made him ~~a~~ meere alien. Neither suffred he any man to render an account of his life, otherwise than with his owne mouth, as well as every one was able, and without a patrone to speake for him. Hee noted many with disgrace, and some of them without their knowledge, as mistrusting no such thing: yea, and for a matter that had no precedent, namely, because without his privity and a pasport obtained they went forth of Italy: one also among the rest, for that in the Province he accompanied a King in his traine: alledging for example, that in his Auncestours daies Rabirius Postumus for following of K. Ptolomæus into Alexandria to save and recover the monie which he had lent him, was accused before the Judges, of Treason to the State. Having assaied to put many more to rebuke with great imputation of the Inquistours negligence, but with greater shame of his owne: looke whomsoever he charged with single life,¹ with childlesse estate or poverty, those lightly he found guiltlesse, as who were able to prove themselves husbands, fathers, and wealthy. Certes, one there was, who being accused to have laied violent hands upon himselfe, and wounded his owne body with a sword, stript himselfe naked, and shewed the same whole and sound, without any harme in the world. Many other Acts he did of speciall note whiles he was Censour as namely these: He commaunded a silver Chariot sumptuously wrought

¹ For these matters would beare action.

and set out to sale in the streete Sigiliaria, for to be bought and broken all to peeces openly. Item, in one day he published 20 Edicts or Proclamations: and ij. among the rest: in the one whereof hee gave the people warning, That when their Vineyards bare Grapes plentifully, they should pitch their vessels very well within: in the other, he did them to understand, That there was nothing so good against the stinging of a Viper, as the juice of the Ughtree.

One expedition and no more hee undertooke, and that was very small. When the Senate had by Decree allowed him Triumphall ornaments, hee supposing that a bare title of honour was inferiour to the majestie of a Prince and Emperour, willing also to enterprise some exploit, whereby he might win the due glorie of a complet triumph, made choise before all other Provinces of Britaine; attempted by none since Julius (Cæsar) of famous memorie, and at that time in a tumultuous uprore, for that certaine revolts and rebels fled from thence, were not rendred. As he sailed from Ostia thitherward, twice had he like to have beene cast away and drowned, by reason of the strong blustering Southerne winde Circius, neere unto Liguria, hard by the Ilands Stoechades.¹ Having therefore travailed by land, from Massiles as farre as to the Cape Gessoriacum,² he crossed the seas from thence into Britaine: and in very few daies,³ without battaile or bloudshed, part of the Iland yeilded to his devotion [A.U.C. 797]. So, in the sixth moneth after his first setting forth hee returned to Rome, and triumphed with most sumptuous pompe therefore prepared. To the sight of which Solemnitie, hee suffred not onely the Presidents and Governours of Provinces to have recourse into the Citie, but also certaine banished persons. And among the enemies Spoiles, hee set up a navall Coronet, and fastened it to the Finial of his house Palatine, hard by another civick guirland, in token and memoriall of the Ocean by him sailed

¹ Situate in the mouth of the River Rhône.

² Where Calais standeth, or Bulloin, as som thinke.

³ 16 according to Dio.

over and subdued. After his triumphant Chariot rode Messallina his wife in a Coach: then followed those gallants also, who in the same warre had attained to triumphall ornaments: the rest went on foote and in their rich robes garded with purple: onely Crassus Frugi mounted upon a brave Courser trimly trapped, and arraid himselfe in a triumphant mantle of estate, for that now twice hee had atchieved that honour.

Hee was at all times most carefull and provident for the Citie,¹ especially that the market might bee well served with victuals: what time, the Æmilian Ædifices (or Tenements) were on fire and continued still burning, hee remained two nights together in the place called Diribitorium: and when the multitude of Souldiours and household servants failed, hee called together by meanes of the Magistrates, the Commons of the Citie out of all the streetes and Parishes to come in and helpe, setting before him his chests full of money: exhorting them to doe their best for the quenching of the fire: and readie for to pay presently every one a good reward according to the paines hee tooke. Now, when corne and victuals were growne very scarce, (such was the continuall unseasonable weather that brought barrainnesse) he was uppon a time in the middes of the market place² detained by the multitude and so assayled and pelled what with reviling taunts and what with peeces of broken bread, that hardly and with much adoe he was able to escape, and no otherwise than by a posterne gate, unto the Pallace. Whereupon he devised all the means he possibly could to bring into the Citie provision of corne and victuals, even in the winter season. For, he not onely proposed certaine set gaines to all cornemasters, that would venture for graine, undertaking himselfe to beare all the losse that should happen unto any of them by tempest: but ordained also great fees and avails for those that would builde ships for such traffique and merchandise, according to the condition and quality of each one:

¹ When so ever you read in Suetonius (City) absolutely, understand thereby Rome: as one would say, The City of all Cities.

² Or Forum.

Namely for everie Romane Citizen exemption from the lawe Papia Poppæa: for enfranchised Latines, the freedome of Romane Citizens: and for women, the priviledge and benefit of those that had 4 children, which constitutions stand in force and be observed at this day.

Many works he finished, and those rather for greatnesse, huge, then for use, needfull. But the chiefe and principall were these: The conduit of water begun by Caius. Item a scluse to let out and draine the lake Fucinus; and the haven at Ostia: although he knew well enough, that the one (of the twaine) Augustus had denied unto the Marsians who continually entreated him about it: and the other intended oftentimes in the designment of Julius Cæsar of sacred memorie, was for the difficultie thereof layde aside. The two colde and plenteous fountaines of the water Claudia, of which the one beareth the name of Cæruleus, the other of Curtius or Albulinus, as also the new river of Anio he conveied and brought to Rome all the way, within stone-work: and then derived and devided the same into many and those right beautiful pooles. He went in hand with the mere Ficinus in hope of gaine as well as of glorie: when some there were, who would have bound themselves in covenant and promise, to draine the sayd marrish at their owne private charges, in case the grounds being once made drie might be graunted unto them in freehold. Now, for the length of three miles, partly by digging through the hill, and partly by hewing out the rocke before him, hee finished the channell at last with much adoe and after eleven yeares labour: albeit thirty thousand men were at worke continually about it and never rested between. The Pere at Ostia beforesayed he made, by drawing an arme of the sea about, on the left and right hand both: and with all, at the mouth and entrance thereof, where now the ground lay deepe, raising an huge dam or pile against it. For the surer foundation of which pile, he drowned before hand that ship, wherein the great Obelisk had beene transported out of Ægypt: and when hee had supported it with buttresses of many stones, hee planted aloft upon the same an exceeding high watch-towre to the patterne of that Pharos

at Alexandria, to the end that by the fires burning there, in the night season, vessels a sea might direct their course.

Hee dealt often among the people great doles and Congiaries. Many shewes and games likewise hee exhibited, and those magnificent: not such onely as were usuall and in accustomed places: but those that were both newly devised and also brought into use againe, whereas they had of auntient time beene discontinued: yea and where no man else before him had ever set forth anie. The games for the dedication of Pompeius Theatre, which being halfe burnt hee had reedified, he gave a signall to begin from out of his Tribunall erected in the *Orchestra*: seeing that before time, when hee had sacrificed and done his devotions in the houses above and came downe from thence through the mids of the Theatre and assembly, not one would once arise and give applause, but sat still and kept silence. He set out [A.U.C. 800] also the Secular games and playes,¹ as if they had beene exhibited by Augustus over soone, and not reserved unto their full and due time: and yet himselfe in his owne histories writeth: That whereas the sayd solemnities had beene intermitted, Augustus long after by a most exact calculation of the yeeres reduced them in order againe. By occasion whereof, the voice of the cryer was then ridiculous and laughed at, when after the solemne manner he called the people, to behold those games and playes, which no man had once seene alreadie, or should ever see againe: whereas there survived yet many who had seene them before: yea and some of the actours, who in times past had beene produced, were then likewise brought forth upon the stage. Oftentimes also he represented the Circensian games in the vaticane, and otherwhiles after every 5 courses [of Chariot running] hee brought in the baiting of wild beastes. But in the greatest Cirque of all which was beautified with barr-gates of marble stone and goales all gilded (whereas before time they had beene made of soft sandstone and wood), hee appointed proper and peculiar

¹ Which were solemnized once in the revolution of one hundred yeeres.

places for the Senatours, who had wont before time to behold the same sports here and there. Besides the races for the prise of Chariots drawen with foure steeds: he represented also the warlike Troie pastime, and the baiting of Leopards: which the troupe of the Pretorian horse-men slew, having for their leaders the Tribunes and the Captaine himselfe. Moreover, hee brought into the shewplace Thessalian men of armes, whose manner is to chase about the cirque wild buls, until they be tyred: then to mount them, and by the hornes to force them downe to the ground. As for shewes of sword-fensers, hee exhibited them in many places, and after divers and sundrie sorts. One, that was kept every yeare within the Prætorian camp, without any baiting and sumptuous provision of furniture. As for that, which was ordinarily set out and formally with baiting and other preparations in Mars field at the *Septa*: in the same place likewise, another extraordinary one and of short continuance, which he began to call *Sportula*, because he proclaimed at first when he exhibited it, That he invited the people thereto, as it were to a sodaine supper and short pittance, such as men use to bid themselves unto. And in no kind of sport or gaming represented unto them, was he more civile, familiar and better disposed to passe the time away: in so much as putting forth his left hand, he together with the common sort, would both by word of mouth, tell, and with his fingers also number the peeces of gold as he tendred them unto the winners; and many a time by way of exhortation and entreaty provoke the people to mirth; ever and anon calling them Sirs: yea, and betweene whiles intermingling bald, and far fetcht jests. As for example, when the people called for one Palumbus¹ to play his prises, hee promised to let them have him, if he were once caught. This also was but a simple plaine jest although to good purpose and in season delivered: when he had by a speciall indulgence, granted unto a Champion who fought out of a British chariot, (for whome his foure children made

¹ The name of a fenser, which signifieth also in the Latin tongue a Stock-dove: which gave occasion unto him, to come out with this od jeast.

earnest suite and entreaty) that he should bee freed from that profession of sword-fight; and that with the great favour and liking of all men, he sent presently an admonition in writing: wherein he advertised the people, how much they should endeavour to get children, seeing, as they did, in what good steed they served, and how they procured grace even unto a sword-fenser. He represented also in Mars field a warlike shew of the winning and sacking of a towne: likewise the yeelding of the Princes of Britaine; where he sat himselfe as president in his rich Coat-armour. When he was about to let out the water of the mere Ficus, he exhibited in it a navall fight before: and as they who were to fight this battaile, cryed out unto him, '*Ave Imperator, etc., i.* All haile O Emperour; they salute thee and wish thy life who are ready to dye:' and he againe made answer, '*Avete¹ vos.*' After which word given, as if he had pardoned them this skirmish, there was not one of them would fight: he, sitting a good while in doubt and suspense with himselfe, whether he should destroy them al with fire and sword, at length leapt forth of his throne, and running to and fro about the circuit of the sayd lake (not without foule faltering of his legs under him) partly with threats, and in part by way of exhortation, constrained them to skirmish. At this brave shew, the Sicilian and Rhodian fleetes encountred: eyther of them consisting of twelve gallies ruled with three rankes of oares a peece. To give the signall of battaile, there was a Triton of Sylver² arising out of the mids of the lake by a fabricke artificially devised, to sound the trumpet and set them together.

Certaine pointes about religious ceremonies, touching the state likewise of civill and militarie affaires, as also concerning all degrees of persons both at home and abroad, he eyther reformed, or after long disuse forgotten, brought into practise againe, or els instituted and ordained new. In the election

¹ This Verbe (*Avete*) signifieth here, farewell or adieu. But the Souldiours construed it in the better sense for theyr owne turns, (as they had used it before in saluting him) All haile ye also.

² Resembling Neptunes Trumpetter.

and admission of Priests throughout their severall Colledges, hee nominated not one but he tooke his oath first. He observed also precisely that so often as there was an Earthquake in the Citie, the Pretour for the time beeing should call a publike assembly of the people and proclaime certain holydaies: semblably, that upon the prodigious sight of an unlucky foule in the Capitol, there should be held a solemne procession and supplication: wherein himselfe personally in the right of High priest, after warning given unto the people from the *Rostra*, did read and pronounce a forme of prayers and they say after him. But from this congregation hee sequestred and removed the base multitude of mechanicall labourers and slaves.

The handling of causes and judiciall pleading in Courts, devided before time into certaine moneths for winter and summer, he conjoynd altogether. The jurisdiction as touching feofments upon trust which was wont yeere by yeere, and onely within the Citie to bee committed unto the magistrates, hee ordained to hold by patent for ever: and betooke the charge thereof unto the rulers and governours also of state in every province. That branch annexed to the lawe *Papia Poppæa*,¹ which emplyeth thus much, That men threescore yeeres of age are disabled for generation, he altered by an edict.² He ordeined that unto Pupils,³ the Consuls should extraordinarily appoint Tutors and Guardians. That they also who by the head-Magistrates were forbidden to make abode within any provices, should bee debarred likewise from the Tribunes pue just in the midst betweene the Consuls chaires. Citie of Rome and Italie. Himselfe confined some after a strange fashion and without any precedent, inhibiting them to depart above three miles from the City. When he was to treat of any great affaire in the *Curia*, his manner was to sit in the

¹ That a Woman under 50 yeares of age, should not bee wedded to a man that was threescore.

² Granting that men threescore yeeres olde might mary women under fiftie.

³ Wards under age.

As for pasports¹ which the Consuls were wont to be used unto for, he would have the Citizens to bee beholden unto himselfe onely therefore, and to crave the same at his hands.

The badges and ornaments belonging unto the Consuls he granted unto the Ducenarie Procuratours and Seneschals of Provinces.² From as manie as refused the honorable dignitie of Senatours, he tooke away also the worship of the gentlemens degree. The right to weare the Laticlave,³ (although hee promised at first not to chuse anie one Senatour who could not reckon 4 lineall descents from a citizen of Rome,) he allowed also to a libertines sonne: but with this condition, if he were adopted before by a Gentleman of Rome. And fearing for all that, least he should be blamed, he proved and shewed, that even Appius Cæcus the cheife auncitour and Auctor of his owne race, being censor elected and admitted into the Senate the sonnes of Libertines: ignorant as hee was, that in the dayes of the sayde Appius, and in the times long after ensuing, those were called Libertines, not onely who themselves were manumised and enfranchised, but such also, as were free borne of their progeny. The Colledge of Questours, insteede of paving the streets and high-wayes he enjoyned to exhibite a game or shew of sword-fencers: and in the lieu of the Provinces, Ostia and Gaule⁴ which he tooke from them hee restored the charge of the publike Treasure in the temple of Saturne; which office in the meane space betweene,⁵ the Pretours for the time being, or those verely who had been Pretours before had borne. Unto Silanus espoused and betrothed unto his daughter, before he was undergrowen and 14 yeeres of age hee granted triumphall ornaments: but of elder persons to so many, as there is an Epistle extant written in the com-

¹ Licences to be absent a time from Rome.

² Who received 200000 sesterces for salarie or might despend so much by the place.

³ The Senatours robe studded with purple.

⁴ Cisalpina, which therupon was called Provincia Quæstoria.

⁵ From Augustus dayes.

mon name of the Legions wherein they make petition, That unto the Consuls Lieuutenants there might be granted together with the conduct of the armie, the sayde triumphall honours: to the end that they should not picke quarrels and seeke occasions of warre, they cared not how nor what way. Moreover to A. Plantius he gave by a decree the pety triumph *Ovatio*: and as he entred so into the Citie himselfe met him upon the waie: and both when he went into the Capitoll and returned also from thence againe, gave him the better hand.¹ Unto Gabinius Secundus, who had vanquished the Cauci a nation in Germanie, he permitted and gave leave to assume the surname Caucius in his style.

The horsemens service and their places he ordered so by degrees, as that after the charge of a cohort, he granted the leading of a wing: and after the commaund thereof, the Tribuneship or regiment of a Legion: he ordained their stipends also: and a kind of imaginary warrefare called *Supra-Numerum* (which they that were absent might execute) and in name or title onely. By vertue of a decree that passed even from the Nobles them selves, he prohibited all souldiours professed, to enter into any Senatours houses for to do their dutie and salute them. Those Libertines who bare them selves for Romane gentlemen he caused to forfeit their goods and bodies to the state. Such of them as were unthankeful and of whom their patrons complained, he deprived of freedome and made them bound againe: yea and denied unto their advocates, for to heare any plea and to sit in judgment against their owne freed men. When some Masters there were, that put forth their sick and diseased slaves into the Isle of Æsculapius,² for to avoid the tedious trouble of their cures at home, he made an act and ordained, That all such slaves should be free and not returne againe into the hands of their Masters, in case they ever recovered: and if anie Master chose to kill them outright, rather than thus to put them forth, they should be guilty of murder. He gave warning by an edict, that no

¹ He gave him the right hand, and went on his left side.

² Otherwise called Tiberina.

waifaring men should trauaile through anie towne in Italie, but either on foot or borne in a chaire, or els carried in a lictor.¹ In Puteoli and in Ostia he placed severall cohorts, to put by all mischances of skarefires. He forbad all persons by condition aliens and forrainers, to take upon them Romane names; those I meane onely that distinguished houses and families. As manie of them as usurped the freedome of Rome-Citie he beheaded in the Esquiline felde. The two provinces Achaia and Macedonia, which Tiberius (the Emperour) had appropriated to him selfe, hee yeelded up againe into the hands and dispose of the Senate. The Lycians hee deprived of their freedome, by occasion of the mortall discord and variance among them. To the Rhodians, who repented for their olde trespasses hee restored their libertie which they had lost. Hee forgave all tributes to the Ilienses for ever, as to the first founders and stocke-fathers of the Romane Nation: and to that purpose hee red an olde letter in Greeke written unto K. Seleucus by the Senate and people of Rome: wherein they promised to entertaine amitie and league with him upon this condition, that hee would graunt unto the Ilienses, their naturall kinsfolke, immunitie from all taxes and tributes. The Jewes,² who by the instigation of one Chrestus were evermore tumultuous, he banished Rome. The Embassadours of the Germanes hee permitted to sit in the *Orchestra*³ (with the Senatours) beeing mooved so to doe at their simplicitie and confident boldnesse, for that beeing brought into the *Popularia*⁴ and perceiving Parthians and Armenians sitting among the Senatours, they of their owne accord had remooved and passed to that quarter: giving

¹ For feare of breaking up the pavements, if they rode in coach, or on horseback.

² This some thinke is to bee understood of Christians whom we find in the Ecclesiastical writers to bee misnamed by the Ethnicke Infidels, *Chrestiani*, like as Christ himselfe *Chrestos*, in skorne.

³ Seats neere unto the Stage.

⁴ Seats most remote from the Stage, wherein the common people were allowed to sit. Betweene the said *Orchestra* and these *Popularia* were raunged the Knights or Gentlemen of Rome, and these rankes bare the name of *Equestria*.

out these words withall, that their valour and condition of estate was nothing inferiour to the others. The religion of the Druidæ among the Frenchmen, practising horrible and detestable cruelty and which under Augustus, Romane Citizens onely were forbidden to professe and use, he quite put downe and abolished. Contrariwise, the sacred rites and holy Cæremonies (of Ceres) called *Eleusinia*, hee attempted to transferre out of the Territorie Attica to Rome. The Temple likewise of Venus Erycine¹ in Sicilie, which in continuance of time was decayed and fallen downe, hee caused to bee repayred and built againe at the common charges of the people of Rome: hee made Covenants and league with forraine Kings, by the complements of killing a sowe in the Forum, and using withall the sentence or preface that the Heraulds in old time pronounced: but both these affaires and others besides, the whole Empire also in a manner or a great part thereof he managed not so much after his owne minde, as by the direction and wil of his Wives and freed-men: beeing verely affected and framed for the most part so, as stood eyther with their profit or good pleasure.

When he was a very youth, he had espoused two maidens, namely Æmilia Lepida neice to Augustus once remooved, likewise Livia Medullina, surnamed also Camilla, a Ladie descended from the auntient house of Camillus the Dictator. The former of these twaine, because her parents had offended Augustus he cast off remaining as yet a Virgin: the latter, hee lost by occasion of sicknesse, upon that very day which was appointed for the mariage. After this, he wedded these wives, to wit, Plautia Herculanilla, whose father had triumphed; and not long after, Ælia Pætina, whose father had beene Consul. Both these he divorced: Pætina upon light offenses and small displeasures: mary, Herculanilla he put away for her filthy lust and whorish life; as also for suspicion of a murder. After these he tooke to wife Valeria Messallina, the daughter of Barbatus Messalla his cousin german: whom when hee found once, over and beside the rest of her abomin-

¹ On Mount Eryx.

able vices and dishonesties, to have been wedded to C. Silius,¹ and that with a dourie assured unto her and signed among the Auspices,² he put to death. And in a speech that he made openly before his Pretorian Souldiours, avowed that because his mariage proved so bad, he resolved to remaine unmarried and live a single life: and if he did not continue so for ever, hee would not refuse to be stabbed by their very hands. Neither could he endure, but forthwith treat upon conditions of mariage even with Pætina, whom long before hee had put away: yea and with Lollia Paulina wife some time to C. Cæsar. But through the enticing allurements of Agrippina,³ the daughter of Germanicus his owne brother, what by the meanes of kissing courtesies, what by the opportunities of other daliances, being drawen into love and fancie with her, at the next Session of Senate he subborned certaine of purpose to opine and give advice, to compell him for to make her his Wife, as being a matter of right great consequence, and which most of all concerned the State: that other men also might be dispensed with and licenced to contract the like mariages⁴ which until that time were reputed incestuous. And so, himselfe staid hardly one day between, before hee dispatched the wedding: but none were found that followed the precedent, except one libertine and another who had been a principal Centurion in the formost Cohort, at whose mariage even himself in person together with Agrippina was present to do him credite and honor.

Children he begat of 3 wives. By Herculaniilla he had Drusus and Claudia: by Pætina he was father of Antonia: and Messallina bare unto him Octavia and a son, whom first he named Germanicus and afterwards Britannicus. As for Drusus, he lost him at Pompeii before he was 14 yeares of age by occasion that he was choaked with a peare which in play and pastime beeing tossed aloft into the aire, fell just

¹ While she was Empresse and wife to Claudius.

² The handfasters or makers of the mariage.

³ His owne neipce.

⁴ With their brothers or sisters daughters.

into his mouth as he gaped wide for it: unto whom also but few daies before, hee had affianced in mariage the daughter of Sejanus: which maketh mee more to mervaile that some have written, hee was treacherously killed by Sejanus. His (supposed) daughter Claudia, who in deede was conceived by his freed man Boter, although shee was borne before the fifth moneth after the divorce, and began to be nourced and reared, yet hee commaunded to be laid at her mothers dore and starke naked to be cast forth. Antonia his daughter, he gave in mariage to Cn. Pompeius Magnus: afterwards to Faustus Sulla ij. right noble yong gentlemen: and Octavia he bestowed upon Nero¹ his wives sonne, notwithstanding she had been promised, and betrothed before unto Silanus. His sonne Britannicus, whom Messallina bare unto him the twentieth day after he came to the Empire and in his second Consulship, being yet a very babe he recommended continually both to the souldiours in open assembly, dandling him in his owne hands, and also to the common people at the solemnities of games and plaies, holding him either in his bosome or just before him, whiles the multitude with great acclamations, all good words and fortunate oses seconded him. Of his sonnes in Law who matched with his daughters, he adopted Nero: Pompeius and Silanus he not onely cast off and rejected but mured also.

Of all his freed men hee esteemed especially Posides the Eunuch, unto whom also in his triumph over Britaine, among martiall men and valiant Souldiours, he gave a speare without an yron head,² and no lesse account made he of Fælix:³ whom first he ordained Capitaine over the Cohorts and Cornets of Horsemen, yea and ruler of the Province Jurie; the husband of three Queenes.⁴ As also of Harpocras, unto whom hee

¹ Emperour after him.

² For his great valour forsooth.

³ Of this Fælix mention is made in the Acts of the Apostles.

⁴ As for Drusilla his wife, a Jew borne, she had beene married indeed before to king Azyrus, as Josephus writeth: but as touching the other two Queenes, whosoever they were, he was acquainted with them otherwise, and not in way of mariage, so farre as I can finde.

graunted a priuledge to be caried in a Litter through the Citie of Rome, and to set out Games and Plaies in publick:¹ and besides these, hee affected with much respect Polybius, the guide and directour to him in his Studies, who oftentimes would walke cheeke by jole betweene the two Consuls. But above all these, he held in greatest esteeme Narcissus his Secretaire or enditer of Epistles, and Pallas the Keeper of his bookes of accounts: whom by vertue of a Decree also which went from the Senate, he suffered willingly to be not onely rewarded with rich Fees, but also to be adorned with the Honours of Questure and Pretureship: likewise to get, to pill and poll by hooke and crooke so much, as that when himselfe complained upon a time how little treasure hee had in his Coffers, one made answeere unto him not absurdly, That hee might have store enough and plenty, in case his two freed men² would admit him to share with them.

To these (freed men) and to his wives as I said before, being wholly addicted and enthralled, hee bare himselfe not as an absolute Prince, but as their Minister and Servitour. According as it was behoovefull and commodious to any of these, or stode with their affection and pleasure, hee graunted honourable dignities, conferred the conducts of Armies, and awarded impunities and punishments: yea, and for the most part, I assure you when himselfe was altogether ignorant and wist not what hee did. And not to reckon up particularly, every small thing, to wit, his liberalities and gifts revoked, his judgements reversed, his Patents and Writings concerning the graunts of Offices either foisted in or plainly altered or chaunged by them: hee slew his brother³ Appius Silanus: the ij. Juliae, the one daughter of Drusus,⁴ and the other of

¹ For everie man might not so doe, unlesse he had a Knights estate, which was foure hundred thousand *Sextarii*, or were free borne: neyther Libertines nor Mechanicall persons living by base trades and occupations were allowed.

² Narcissus and Pallas.

³ *Consocerum*: so called for that their children married together: and such with us, name one another brethren.

⁴ The sonne of Tiberius.

Germanicus¹ upon bare imputation of a crime, without any ground: not allowing them so much as lawfull triall and libertie to plead in their owne defence: likewise Cn. Pompeius, husband to his elder daughter, and Lucius Silanus espoused to the other (and all through their suggestions and informations). Of which, Pompeius was stabbed even as he lay in bed with a beloved youth and Catamite of his: Silanus was forced to resigne up his Pretureship foure daies before the Kalends of Januarie [A.U.C. 802], and to loose his life² in the beginning of the yeere on the very wedding day of Claudius and Agrippina. To the execution of 35 Senatours, and above an hundred Romaine Gentlemen so easily was hee induced, as that, when the Centurion brought word backe, as touching the death of one who had beene Consull, saying, That the deede was done which he had commaunded, he flatly denied that he gave any such warrant. Neverthesse the thing he allowed: whiles his freed men aforesaid standing by, avouched, That the Souldiours had done their devoir, in that they ran willingly of their owne heads to revenge their Emperour. For, it would be thought incredible if I should relate, how even for the very mariage of Messallina with the Adulterer Silius: his own self sealed the Writings for assurance of the Dowrie, being perswaded and brought thereunto, as though the said wedding was but colourably, of purpose pretended to avert forsooth and translate the danger, that by certaine prodigies were portended to hang over his owne head.

Right personable hee was, and caried a presence not without authorite and majestie, whether he stode or sate; but especially when he was laid and tooke his repose. For, of stature hee was tall, and nathlesse his body not lanke and slender. His countenance lively, his gray haire beautifull, which became him well, with a good fat and round neck under them. Howbeit, both as he went his hams being feeble failed him: and also whiles he was doing ought, were it remissely

¹ Who is called also Livilla.

² Tacitus writeth, that hee killed himselfe upon that day.

or in earnest, many thinges disgraced him: to wit, undecent laughter and unseemely anger, by reason, that hee would froth and slaver at the mouth, and had evermore his nose dropping: besides, his tongue stutted and stammered: his head likewise at all times, but especially if he did any thing were it never so little used to shake and tremble very much.

Concerning his bodily health, as before time he used to be grievously sick, so being once Emperour exceeding healthfull he was and stooode cleere of all diseases save onely the paine of the stomack,¹ in a fit whereof hee saide, hee thought to have killed himselfe.

Hee made feasts, and those very great and ordinarily; yea, and in most open and large places, such as for the most part would receive sixe hundred guests at one sitting. Hee feasted also even upon the Sluce of the Lake Fucinus: what time hee had like to have beene drowned, when as the water let out with a forcible violence reflowed backe againe. At everie supper his manner was to have also his owne children, who together with other noble mens children as well boyes as girles, should after the olde manner sit and feede at the tables feete. One of his guests, who was thought to have closelie stollen away a cup of gold the day before, he re-invited against the morrow: and then he set before him a stone pot to drinke in. . . .

For appetite to meate and drinke his stomacke served him passing well alwaies, and in every place. Sitting upon a time judicially in Augustus Hall of Justice, to heare and determine causes, and sending there the steime of a dinner, that was a dressing and serving up for the Priests *Salii*²

¹ This disease, some Physicians name *Kardialgian*, i. the heart-ach, or *Cardiacam passionem*, seated in the orifice of the stomach, which is called *Kardia*. The paine whereof, Plinie affirmeth to be most intollerable, next unto the passion of the strangury.

² So sumptuous were these feastes, that *Pontificum Cæna*, and *Saliares Epulæ*, grew into a proverb, to expresse exceeding great bellie cheere, and most delicate fare.

in the temple of Mars¹ next adjoyning, he forsooke the Tribunall, went up to the said Priests, and there sate downe with them to meate. Lightly you should never have him goe out of any dining roome, but with his belly strutting out, well whittled also and drenched with wine: so, as straightwaies, whiles hee layd him downe along upon his backe and tooke a sleepe gaping, there was a feather put ordinarily into his mouth wide open for to discharge his stomack. Hee tooke very short sleepes: for commonly before midnight hee awaked: yet so, as otherwhiles he would catch a nap in the day time, as he sat to minister justice: and scarcely could bee awakened by the Advocates at the barre, who of purpose raised their voices and pleaded the lowder. Hee was excessively given to the wanton love of women. As for the preposterous abuse of malekind, he was altogether unacquainted therewith. Hee plaied at dice most earnestly (concerning the Art and skill whereof, he published also a little booke) being wont to plie that game even whiles hee was caried up and downe, having his Carroch and Dice-bourd so fitted, as there might be no confusion nor shuffling at all in play.

That cruell he was and given to bloudshed naturally, appeared in great and very small matters. As for tortures used in examinations, and the punishments that Paricides suffred,² hee exhibited and exacted the same to be done without delay, and openly in his owne presence. Being desirous upon a time to behold an execution performed after the auncient manner at Tibur, when as (the malefactours standing bound already to a stake), there wanted the butcherly executioner to doe the feat, he staid there still in the place, and waited untill evening, for one that was sent for out of Rome. At all Swordfights, whether they were set forth by himselfe, or by

¹ Revenger, situate neere to the Hall: for distinction of another Temple bearing that name, in the Capitoll mount.

² Seneca, lib. I *De Clementia* writeth, That Claudius caused more Paricides to be sowed within a leather male, etc., in five yeares space, than had beene ever before his daies.

others, he commaunded as many of the Champions as chaunced onely but to stumble and fall therewith, to have their throats cut: especially the Fencers called *Retiariis*¹ and why! because forsooth hee would see their faces as they lay gasping and yeelding up their breath. It fortun'd, that a couple of these fighting at sharpe wounded and killed one another: thereupon hee commaunded little knives to bee made of both their blades, for his owne proper use. Hee tooke such pleasure in those that fought with wild beasts,² as also in the sword fights ordinarily about noone, that he would by breake of day go downe to the Theater for to behold the one: and at noone dismisse the people to their dinners, and sit it out himselfe to see the other: yea, and besides those that were appointed to such combats, upon any slight and suddaine occasion set some to fight for their lives, even out of the number of Carpentars, Servitours, and such like employ'd about these games: if happily any of those artificiall motions [*Automata*] that goe by vices, or a pageant in frame, or some such fabrick proved not well. Hee fetcht in also one of his owne Nomenclatours³ even in his gowne as he went to fight for his life.⁴

But it passed, how timorous and diffident hee was. At his first comming to the Empire (how ever as we said before, he bragged and stooke upon his civill and familiar behaviour) he durst not for certaine daies goe to any feast, dinner or supper, without Pensionars standing about him with their speares and Javelins, and his Souldiours waiting at the table: neither visited hee any sicke person, unlesse the bed-chamber where the party lay, were first searched; the beds, bolsters, pillowes, Coverlets and other cloathes were groped, felt, and throughly shaken before hand. All the time after, hee appointed evermore certaine searchers for them all, that came to salute him, sparing not one, and such searchers as were most cruell. For, long it was first, and that with much adoe,

¹ The adverse faction to the *Mirmillones* whom he favored.

² Which combats were usually in the morning.

³ Prompters of names.

⁴ With wilde beasts or otherwise.

ere hee graunted that women, young boyes in their embroidered coates, and maidens, should not bee handled and left in this manner: that any mans Attendants likewise or Clerks might not have their Pensheathes and Penknife-cases taken from them. In a civile commotion, when Camillus, (making no doubt but that without any warre at all hee might be terrified) willed him in a contumelious, menacing, and malapert letter, to resigne up the Empire, and to leade a quiet life in private estate, hee called his Nobles and chiefe personages about him, to counsell, and put to question, whether it were best to hearken unto him or no.

At the headlesse report and flying newes of some treason that should bee practised against him, he was so affrighted, that hee went about to lay downe his Imperiall dignity. By occasion, that one (as I related before) was taken with a weapon upon him, about his person as hee sacrificed, in all hast he sent out the Bedels and called the Senate together: before whom, with teares and loude out-cries hee bewailed his owne piteous case, as who no where could make account of any safety: and thereupon for a long time forbare to come abroad. His affectionate love also to Messallina, most fervent though it were he renounced and cast cleane from her, not so much for any indignity of the dishonourable wrongs she offred unto him, as upon very feare of daunger, as fully perswaded that shee practised to bring the Empire into Silius the Adulterers hands. At which time in a great fright he fled in shamefull manner to the camp, asking and enquiring all the way nothing else, but whether the Empire remained still safe to his behoofe.

There arose no suspicion, there came forth no Author so light and vaine, but gave him a bone to gnaw upon, and put no small toyes in his head: whereby he was forced to beware and seeke revenge. One of those, that had a matter depending in Court before him, taking him a side, when hee came by way of salutation to doe his duty, avowed unto him, that he dreamed, How hee was killed by one. Then within a while after, the same party, (as if he had now taken knowledge

who that one was that should murder him) pointed unto his owne adversarie, even as hee tendered a supplication unto Claudius, and said, "This is he." Whereupon immediately apprehended he was, and haled to execution. After the semblable manner by report, came Appius Silanus to his death. For, when Messallina and Narcissus had conspired to worke his overthrow and finall destruction, they complotted thus, that Narcissus betimes in a morning before day light rushed like a man amazed and astonied into the bedchamber of his Patrone (Claudius) relating unto him his dreame, namely that Appius had laid violent hands upon him: and Messallina for her part, composing and framing her selfe as if shee wondered greatly thereat, reported, How shee likewise had seene already the same vision for certaine nights together. And not long after this, word came, (as it was before agreed betweene them) that Appius was comming to rush in among them: who in deed had beene bidden the day before to be present at the same instant. Whereupon, as if the said dreame had now proved true and beene plainly represented in effect, order was given for Appius, to be endited, arraigned, and to suffer death. Neither doubted Claudius the morrow after to report the whole storie and the order thereof unto the Senate: and withall to give thanks unto his freedman [Narcissus], for being so vigilant and watchfull in his very sleepe for his sake.

Being privie to himselfe of passionate anger and bearing malice, he excused them both in an Edict, distinctly promising that the one of them verily should be but short and harmlesse, the other not unjust nor causelesse. Having sharply rebuked the men of Ostia, because they had not sent boats and barges to meet him as he came upon the river Tiberis: and that in such odious termes as these, That he was now become base and abject in their eies: all on a suddaine, he pardoned them upon the submission and readinesse to make satisfaction. Some there were, whom in the very open street he thrust from him with his own hand, comming unto him somewhat out of season. Semblably he confined and banished the Court a Scribe who had been Questour: a Senatour likewise that had

born the Pretureship, both of them without their cause heard and altogether guiltlesse, for that the one pleading in Court as an Advocate against him when he was a private person, had caried himselfe not so modestly as he should: and the Senatour in his Ædileship had amerced and fined certaine tenants of his dwelling upon his lands, for selling boiled meats contrary to the law expresly forbidding so to do: and withall whipped his Bailife comming betweene (to intercede for them). For which cause also, he tooke from the Ædiles their authority to punish the disorder of those that kept Tavernes and victualing houses. But as touching his owne foolishnes, he concealed it not, but gave it out and protested in certaine short orations, That he counterfaieted himselfe a foole for the nonce during Caius [Caligula's] daies; because otherwise he should not have escaped, nor attained to that (imperiall) place which hee aimed at and was no entred upon. Howbeit, he could not make the world beleewe so much, untill there was a book put forth within a short time after, entituled *The resurrection (or Exaltation) of fooles*. The argument and matter whereof was, That no man faigneth folly.

Among other things, men wondered at him for his oblivion and unadvisednesse, or (that I may expresse the same in Greeke) his *meteōrian kai ablepsian*, i. his grosse over-sight or forgetfulness, and inconsiderate blindness. When Messallina was (by his owne commaundement) killed, within a while, after he was set in his dining parlour hee asked why his Lady came not. Many of those whom he had condemned to death, the very morrow immediately after, he commaunded to have warning both to sit in counsell with him, and also to beare him company at Dice-play: yea, and by a messenger chid and checked them as drowsie and slothfull for staying so long and making no better hast. Being minded to take Agrippina to wife against all law of God and man, he ceased not in all his speech to call her, his daughter and nourceling: to give out also, That she was borne and brought up in his bosome.¹ Having a purpose to admit Nero into the very name of his

¹ And in deede he was her Unkle.

owne house and family, as if he had not incurred blame enough already for adopting (him) his wives son, having a naturall sonne¹ of his owne who was now ripe yeeres, he eftsoones divulged, That never any one had beene by adoption either inserted or incorporate into the family of the Claudii.

He shewed oftentimes so great negligence and carelesnes what he said or did, that he was thought not to know nor consider, either who made any speech, or among whom, or at what time, and in what place? When there was some question and debate about Butchers and Vintnars, he cried out in the Senate house, 'I beseech you, my Maisters, who is able to live without a little piece or morsell of flesh?' and withall described the abundance of the olde Tavernes,² from whence himselfe also in times past was wont to bee served with wine. As touching a certaine Questour, who was a Candidate of his and by him recommended: among other reasons why he favoured him, he alleadged this, Because his Father had quickly and in due time given him lying sick, cold water to drinke. Having in the Senate brought in a woman to depose, 'This,' quoth he, 'was my mothers freed woman, and she that kept her ornaments, and used to deck and dresse her: but she alwaies tooke me for her Patrone. This have I,' quoth he, 'delivered of purpose because there be some yet in mine house, who think me not to be her Patron.' Moreover, sitting upon the Tribunall, when he was in a great chafe, and the men of Ostia requested at his hands (I wot not what) in the name of their towne, he cried out aloud, That he knew nothing wherefore he should oblige them unto him: 'And if any man else,' quoth he, 'I also am free and at mine owne liberty.' As for these words of his which now I will relate, they were rife in his mouth daily, yea every houre and minute thereof: 'What doest thou take me for Theogonius and

¹ Britannicus.

² A foolish speech tending much to his discredit: as if he sent to the Taverne for his wine by the pot or bottle and had not his own cellarage stored therewith.

*logiōtatos*¹ beside many such foolish termes, not beseeming private persons, much lesse a Prince, otherwise not uneloquent nor unlearned: nay, rather one eagerly given to his booke, and a great Student in the liberall Sciences.

In his youth, he attempted to write an Historie, exhorted thereto by Titus Livius; and having the help besides of Sulpitius Flavius. And when he put the same first to the triall and judgement of men in a frequent auditorie, hardlie and with much a-do he read it through, being often in the while coldly heard, by an occasion that himselfe gave. For, when, (as hee began his reading) there was set up a laughter, by reason that many of the seates brake with the weight of a certeine corpulent and fat swad, he was not able to hold, no not after the tumult appeased, but eftsoones ever and anon call to minde that accident and fall afresh to unmeasurable laughing. During his Empire likewise, hee both wrote much and also rehearsed the same continually by his reader. The beginning of his foresayd historie he tooke from the time presently ensuing the murder of Cæsar Dictator: but hee passed over to the latter dayes: and began againe at the civill pacification: perceiving that it was not left in his power and libertie to write of the occurrents in those former times, as who was often checked both by his mother² and also by his grandame.³ Of the former argument he left behinde him two volumes, of the later, fortie-one. Hee compiled of his owne life eight bookes: a report not so wisely and discreetly put downe, as otherwise elegantly penned: Item, an Apologie or defense of Cicero against the bookes of Asinius Gallus: a peece of worke full enough of learning. He devised moreover three new characters or letters in the (Latine) Alphabet,⁴ and

¹ These words without all rime or reason were rife in his mouth, which unadvisedly he had taken up, and by use could not leave them.

² Antonia the Triumvirs daughter.

³ Octavia the wife of Antonie or Livia Augusta her selfe.

⁴ Some thinke, that he devised not new letters in the Alphabet, but new formes rather of the former: as namely to write for the Æolick digamma *F* the inverted character *J*, and for *æ* diphthong, *ai*.

put them to the number of the olde as most necessarie. And having published whiles he was yet a private person, concerning the reason of those letters, one booke: soone after beeing Emperor he easily effected that they should be brought into use also indifferently with the rest. And verely such manner of writing with those characters is now extant to be seene in many bookes of records in Journels, and titles or inscriptions of works.

With no lesse diligence studied hee the Greeke disciplines, professing as any occasion was offered, his affectionate love to that tongue, and the excellency thereof. When a certaine Barbarian discoursed in Greeke and Latine, "See you be skilfull," quoth he, "in both our languages"; and in recommending Achaia unto the LL. of the Senate, he sayde it was a province that he affected well and delighted in, for the commerce and society of studies common to him and them: and many a time he answered their ambassadors in the Senate, with a long and continued oration (in Greeke). But upon the Tribunall he used very much verses also out of Homer. Certes whensoever he had taken revenge of enemie or traytor, he lightly gave unto the Tribune over the Sentinels and guard of his person, calling unto him after the usual manner for a watchword, none other but this:

Resist, revenge with maine and might,
When one provokes thee first to fight.

To conclude, in the end he wrote Greeke histories also, to wit twentie books entituled *Tyrrhenicoon*,¹ and 8 entituled *Carchedoniacoon*.² In regard of which histories, unto the auntient schoole at Alexandria he adjoynd another bearing his owne name:³ and ordained it was, that every yeare in the on of them his books *Tyrrhenicoon*; and in the other his *Carchedoniacoon* upon certaine daies appointed therefore

¹ Of Tuskane affaires.

² Of Carthaginian matters.

³ Called Claudium.

should (as it were in a frequent Auditorie) be read whole through by severall single readers in their turnes.

Toward the end of his life, hee shewed certaine signes and those evident enough, that he repented both his mariage with Agrippina, and the adoption also of Nero. For by occasion that his freed-men made mention and gave their commendation of a judicall proceeding of his, wherein he had condemned the day before, a Woman in the case of adulterie, hee avouched that the destinies likewise had so ordained, that all his mariages should bee unchaste howbeit not unpunished: and soone after, meeting his sonne Britannicus and embracing him harder and more closely than his manner was, 'Growe apace,' quoth hee, 'and take account of me for all that I have done.' Using withall these Greeke words *ho erōs d'epeigetai*, i. love enforced me.¹ And when he had fully purposed to give him being as then very young and of tender yeeres his Virile Robe, seeing that his stature and growth would beare and permit it, he uttered these words, moreover, 'To the end that the people of Rome may yet at last have a true and naturall Cæsar.'

And not long after this he wrote his wil and signed it with the seales of al the head-magistrates: whereupon before that he could proceed anie further, prevented hee was and cut short by Agrippina. Whom they also who were privie to her and of her counsell, yet neverthelesse enformers, accused besides all this of many crimes. And verely it is agreed upon generally by all, that killed he was by poyson: but where it should be, and who gave it, there is some difference.² Some write, that as he sat at a feast in the (Capitoll) Castle with the priests, it was presented unto him by Halotus the Eunuch his taster: others report that it was a meale in his owne house by Agrippina herselfe, who had offered unto him a mushrome

¹ Or rather, *ho trosas kai iasetai*, i. He that wounded will also heale. I that have done thee wrong wil make amends.

² And yet by circumstances it may be collected, that he caught his bane and died in the Palatium at Rome.

empoisoned; knowing that he was most greedy of such meats. Of those accidents also which ensued hereupon, the report is variable. Some say, that streight upon the receipt of the poyson he became speechlesse, and continuing all night in dolorous torments, dyed a little before day. Others affirme, that at first he felle a sleepe: and afterwards, as the meate flowed and floted aloft vomited all up, and so was followed againe with a ranke poyson. But whether the same were put into a messe of thicke gruell, (considering hee was of necessity to be refreshed with food beeing emptied in his stomacke) or conveied up by a clister, as if being overcharged with fulnesse and surfeit, he might be eased also by this kind of egestion and purgation, it is uncertaine.

His death was kept secret until all things were set in order about his successour. And therefore, both vowes were made for him as if hee had lyen sicke stil, and also comicall Actours were brought in place colourably to solace and delight him, as having a longing desire after such sports. He deceased three dayes before the Ides of October,¹ when Asinius Marcellus and Acilius Avola were Consuls: in the 64th yeere of his age, and 14th of his Empire [A.U.C. 807]. His funerals were performed with a solemne pompe and procession of the Magistrates: and canonized he was a Saint in heaven: which honor forlet and abolished by Nero hee recovered afterwards by the meanes of Vespasian.

Especial tokens there were presaging and prognosticating his death: to wit the rising of an hairy² starre which they call a Comet: also the monument of his father Drusus was blasted with lightning: and for that in the same yeere most of the Magistrates of all sorts were dead. But himselfe seemeth not either to have beene ignorant that his end drew neere, or to have dissimuled so much: which may bee gathered by some good arguments and demonstrations. For both in the ordination of Consuls hee appointed none of them to con-

¹ The 13th of October.

² Or blazing.

tinue longer then the moneth wherein he dyed: and also in the Senate, the very last time that ever he sat there, after a long and earnest exhortation of his children to concord, he humbly recommended the age of them both to the LL. of that honourable house: and in his last Judicial Session upon the Tribunal once or twice he pronounced openly, That come he was now to the end of his mortalitie: notwithstanding they that heard him, grieved to heare such an Osse, and praied the gods to avert the same.

SUETONIUS

THE HISTORIE OF NERO CLAUDIUS CÆSAR

THIS Nero was borne at Antium, nine moneths after that Tiberius departed this world, eightene daies before the Kalends of Januarie, just as the Sunne was newly risen, so as his beames light well neere upon him before they could touch the earth.¹ As touching his Horoscope, many men straightwaies gave many guesses and conjectures of fearefull events. And even a very word that his father Domitius spake, was taken to be a presaging osse. For when his friends by way of gratulation wished him joy of his sonne new born, he said, That of himselfe and Agrippina there could nothing come into the world but accursed, detestable and to the hurt of the weale publick. Of the same future infortunity there appeared an evident signe upon his naming day:² for Caius Cæsar (Caligula) when his sister (Agrippina) requested him to give the Infant what name³ he would, looking wistly on Claudius his Unkle, (by whom afterwards being Emperour (the child) was adopted), said he gave him his name. Neither spake hee this in earnest, but merily in boord: and Agrippina scorned and rejected it, for that as then, Claudius went for a foole, and one of the laughing stocks of the Court. At three yeeres of age he became fatherlesse: and being his fathers heire but of one third part, yet could not he touch so much as

¹ Dio sayth, hee was compassed with the sunne beames: and yet no sunne appeared above the Horizon.

² To wit, the ninth day after he was borne, on which they used to name their sonnes. And as this day was called *Nominalia*, so there was a goddesse forsooth, president of this complement and ceremonies, whom they named Nundina.

³ Forename.

that, full and whole, by reason of Caius his coheire, who had seized upon and caught up before-hand all the goods: and for that his mother also was soone after confined and packt away, he being in manner destitute of all helpe and very needy, was fostered in his Aunt Lepidæ's house under two Pædagogues, a dauncer and a Barber. But when Claudius was come once to the Empire, hee not onely recovered his patrimonie, but also was enriched by the inheritance of Crispus Passienus his mothers husband, that fell unto him. And verily through the grace and power of his mother now called home againe and restored to her estate, hee flourished and grew so great that commonly it was bruted abroad, That Messallina the wife of Claudius sent some of purpose to take the opportunity of his noones sleep, and so to smuddre and strangle him, as the onely Concurrent of Britannicus,¹ and one that eclipsed the light of his glorie. Now in the tale it went, besides: that the said parties tooke a fright at a Dragon issuing out of his pillow, whereupon they fled backe and forsooke the enterprise. Which fable arose upon this, that there was in deede found the slough of a serpent in his bed about the bolsters. And yet, this slough he enclosed within a bracelet of gold (as his mother willed him) and wore it a good while after, upon his right arme: and at length, wearie of any memoriall and monument of his mothers flung it away: but in his extremitie and despaire of his estate sought for the same againe in vaine.

In his tender yeeres, and whiles hee was yet a boy of no full growth, hee acted at the Circeian Games the warlike Troy fight most resolutely, with great favour and applause of the people. In the eleventh yeere of his age adopted he was by Claudius and put to schoole unto Annæus Seneca, even then a Senatour, for to be trained up in good literature. The report goes, that Seneca, the next night following, dreamed as hee lay in bed, that hee was teaching C. Cæsar [Caligula]: and shortly after Nero proved his dreame true, bewraying the fell stomacke and shrewd nature of the said Prince, by the first experiments that he could give thereof. For when his brother

¹ Her Sonne.

Britannicus saluted him after he was once adopted, (as his wonted manner was before) by the name of Ænobarbus, hee went about to lay this imputation upon him before his Father, that he was some Changeling and no sonne of his as he was reputed. His Aunt Lepida likewise being in trouble, hee deposed against, in the open face of the Court, thereby to gratifie his mother her heaue friend, and who followed the suite hotly against her. Being honourably brought into the Forum, the day of his first plea and Commencement, hee promised publicly for the people a Congiarie, and Donative for the Souldiours. Having proclaimed also a solemne Justing, himselfe rode before the Pretorian Souldiours bearing a shield in his owne hand. After this, hee solemnly gave thanks to his Father in the Senate. Before whom being then Consull, hee made a Latine Oration in the behalfe of the Bononians, and for the Rhodians and Inhabitants of Ilium, another in Greeke. His first Jurisdiction hee began as Provost of the Citie,¹ during the celebration of the Latine holidiaies: what time the most famous Advocates and Patrones in those daies strove a vie, who could bring before him most accusations and longest; not (as the manner was) such as were ordinarie and briefe: the expresse commaundement of Claudius forbidding the same, notwithstanding. Not long after, hee tooke to wife Octavia: and for the good health of Claudius, exhibited the Cirque Games and baiting of wild beasts.

Being seventeene yeeres olde, so soone as it was knowne abroad that Claudius was dead [A.U.C. 807], hee came forth to those (of the Pretorian Cohort) that kept watch and ward, betweene the sixth and the seventh houre of the day:² for by reason that the whole day beside was ominous and dismall, there was no time thereof thought more auspicate and con-

¹ The manner was, during these solemnities in the Albane mount, (where the chiefe magistrates were present) to leave for Provost of the Citie, some principall young Gentleman of the Nobilitie, before whom sitting judicially, causes of no great importance should be brought.

² Between noone and one of the clock.

venient than it, to enter upon the Empire: and so before the Pallace staires being proclaimed and saluted Emperour, he was in a Lictor brought to the [Pretorian] Camp: and hastily from thence, after a short speech made unto the Souldiours, conveied into the *Curia*. From whence he departed home in the evening: and of those exceeding and infinite honours which were heaped upon him, hee refused onely the Title in his stile of *Pater Patriæ*,¹ in regard of his young yeeres.

Beginning then with a glorious shew of Piety and Kindnes, at the Funerals of Claudius, which were most sumptuously performed, he praised him in an Oration and consecrated him a God. In the memoriall of his owne Father Domitius, he did him right great honour. His mother he permitted to have the whole regiment of all matters as well publick as private. The very first day also of his Empire, when the Tribune of the Sentinels, asked of him a watchword, he gave unto him this Mot, *Optima mater* (my best mother), and afterwards many a time she accompanied him through the Streets, in his owne Lictor. He planted a Colonie at Antium, enrolling therein the old Souldiours out of the Prætorian cohort, and joyning with them (by translating their habitations) the richest Centurions who had beene Leaders of the foremost bands: where also hee made a Pere, a most sumptuous peece of worke.

And to shew a surer prooffe still of his towardnesse, after profession made to governe the Empire according to the pre-script rule of Augustus, he omitted no occasion to shew either bountifulnesse or clemencie, no nor so much as to testifie his gentlenesse and courtesie. Those tributes and taxes which were any thing heavie he either abolished quite or abated. The rewards due unto Informers as touching the Law Papia, hee reduced to the fourth part onely of the penalty. Having dealt among the people 400 Sesterces² for every poll: to as many Senatours as were most nobly descended (howbeit decayed and weakned in their estates) he allowed yeerley Salar-

² Father of his Country.

¹ 3l. 2s. 6d. starling, a Romaine pound.

ies, and to some of them 500000 Sesterces.¹ Likewise for the Pretorian Cohorts hee ordained an allowance of Corne monthely gratis. And whensoever he was put in minde to subscribe and set his hand to a warrant (as the manner is) for the execution of any person condemned to die, hee would say, 'Oh, that I knew not one letter of the booke.' Manie times he saluted all the Degrees of the Citie one after another, by rote and without booke. When the Senate upon a time gave him thanks, hee aunswered '(Doe so) when I shall deserve.' To his exercises in Mars field he admitted the Commons also, yea and declaimed often publicly before them. He rehearsed his owne verses publicly before them. He rehearsed his owne verses likewise, not onely within house at home, but also in the Theater: and that with so general a joy of as many as heard him, that for the said rehearsall, there was a solemne procession decreed: and some of his said verses written in golden letters were dedicated to Jupiter Capitolinus.

Many and sundry kindes of shewes he set forth: to wit, the Juvenall sports,² the Circean Games, and the Stageplayes: also a Sword fight. In the Juvenall pastimes, he admitted old men even those of Consuls degree: aged women also matrones to disport themselves. At the *Circenses*, he appointed places for the Gentlemen of Rome a part by themselves: where hee put also to runne a race for the prise chariots drawne with foure Camels. In the Stage plaies, (which beeing instituted for the eternizing and perpetuitie of his Empire hee would have to be called *Maximi*), very many of bothe degrees³ and sexes plaied their parts upon the Stage. A Romaine Gentleman of very good note and especiall marke, mounted upon an Elephant ranne downe a rope. There was brought upon the Stage to be acted the Romaine Comædie of Afranius entituled *Incendium*: and graunted it was unto the Actours therein to

¹ More by a fourth part, than the State or worth of a Gentleman of Rome.

² These youthful sports *Iuvenalia*, or *Iuvenales ludi*, were first instituted by this Nero, privately in houses or gardens, and orchards. Wherein, of all degrees, ages and sexes they daunced and revelled.

³ Gentlemen and Senatours.

rifle all the goods and implements of the house as it burned, and to take the same as their owne. Scattered also abroad there were for the people Missils,¹ during the whole time of those Plaies: to wit, a thousand birds every day of all kindes: Cates and viands manifold: Ticquets and Tallies for corne, apparell, gold, silver, pretious stones, pearles, pictures upon tables: slaves, labouring garrons and beasts also tamed: last of all, ships, isles, lands and possessions, according to their Tallies.

These Games hee beheld from the top of the *Proscenium*.² At the Swordfight which hee exhibited in the Amphitheatre built of Timber in one yeeres space within the ward of Mars field hee suffred not one man to be killed, no not so much as a guilty malefactour. Moreover, hee brought into the Lists for to fight at sharpe even 400 Senatours and 600 Gentlemen of Rome. Some of good wealth and reputation, out of the same degrees, he caused to come forth into the Shew-place, for to kill wild beasts, and performe sundry services thereto belonging. He represented also a Naval fight upon salt water from the Sea, with a devise to have sea beasts swimming therein. Semblably, certaine Pyrrhick daunces in armour, sorted out of the number of young Springals: and after their devoir done, he gave freely unto every one of them patents and graunts to be enfranchized Citizens of Rome. Betweene the arguments of these Pyrrhick daunces, devised it was [the tale of Pasiphæ]³ which was acted so lively, that many of the beholders beleaved verily it was so in deede. As for Icarus, at the first attempt to flie, hee fell presently downe hard by his [Nero's] owne Pavillion so that he bespreint him with bloud. For very seldome had he used to sit as President at these Games: but his manner was, to behold them as he

¹ Or gifts.

² The fore-stage.

³ The fabulous reports of Ladie Pasiphæ wife to King Minos, how she was enamoured of a Bull, as also of Icarus the sonne of Dædalus, who would needs attempt to flie in the ayre, be well enough knownen to them that are but meanely scene in Poetrie.

lay upon his bed.¹ First through little loope holes: but afterwards setting the whole gallerie open from whence he looked. Hee was the first moreover that instituted at Rome [A.U.C. 813], according to the Greeke fashion, Quinquennal games of three kinds, to wit, of Musick and Poetrie, of Gymnick maisteries and of Horsemanship: which Games he called Neronia. After he had dedicated the Baines, and a place therein for Gymnick exercises, he allowed the oyle that went thereto both for the Senate and also for the Gentlemen. He ordained Maisters and Wardens of all this Solemnity, especiall persons of Consular degree, chosen by lot to sit as over-seers in the place of Pretours,² and then came downe himselfe into the *Orchestra* and the Senatours quarter. And verily the victorious coronet for the Latine tongue, both in prose and verse, about which the best and most worshipfull persons had contended, when it was graunted unto him with their owne consents he received: and the harp presented unto him by the Judges he adored, and commaunded that it should bee caried to the Statue of Augustus. At the Gymnick Games which he exhibited in the *Septa*, during the solemne preparation of the great Sacrifice Buthysia, hee cut off the first beard that he had, which he bestowed within a golden box, adorned it with most pretious pearles and then consecrated it in the Capitoll. To the shew of wrestlers and other Champions he called also the vestall virgins, because at Olympia the priestesses likewise of Ceres, are allowed to see the Games there.

I may by good reason, among other Shewes by him exhibited, reckon also the entrance into Rome City, of Tiri-dates [A.U.C. 819]: whom being King of Armenia hee had solicited by large promises. Now, when hee meant to shew him unto the people upon a set day appointed by an Edict, and was driven to put it off, (the weather was so cloudy) he brought him forth before them to be seene upon the best and

¹ Or a pallet.

² Where they were wont to sit as Presidents at other games and playes.

most opportune day that hee could finde; having bestowed about the temples situate in the Forum, cohorts of Souldiours armed, and sitting himselfe upon his yvorie curule chaire of Estate before the *Rostra* in triumphall habite, among the militarie Ensignes, banners, guidons and streamers. And as the King came up towards him by the ascent of the steepe pulpit, he admitted him first to his knees; and then raising up with his right hand kissed him: afterwards as he was making his praier unto him, having taken off his Tiara, he did the diademe on.¹ Whiles one who had been Pretour, pronounced unto the multitude the Suppliants words, as they were by an Interpretour delivered unto him. Being brought after this into the Theater and making supplication againe, he placed him on his right side next to himselfe. For which he was with one accord saluted Emperour: and so bringing with him the Lawrell branch into the Capitoll, he shut both dores of double faced Janus temple, as if no reliques of warre remained behind.

Fourre Consulships he bare: the first for two moneths: the second and last for three: the third for foure [A.U.C. 808, 810, 811, 813]. The middle twaine he continued without any intermission: the rest he varied with a yeeres space betweene.

In his ordinarie Jurisdiction, he lightly gave no answer to the Proctours before the day following, and that was by writing. In extraordinary Commissions and trials this course he held, namely to decide every cause by it selfe one after another upon certaine daies of the Session; and to surcease quite the hudling up and debatements of matters one in the neck of another: so often as he went aside to consult, he did deliberate and aske advice of nothing either in common or openly: but reading secretly to himselfe the opinions written by every counsellour, what like his owne selfe, that pronounced hee, as if many more thought well of the same. For

¹ Which he had laid off again as it shold seeme, like as when he was vanquished by Corbito, he laid downe before the Image of Nero.

a long time hee admitted not the sonnes of Libertines into the *Curia*: and to those that were admitted by the Emperours his predecessours hee denied all honorable Offices. If there sued for Magistracies more than could speed, or were places void; to comfort their harts againe for delaying and making them to stay longer, he gave unto them the conduct of Legions. He gaunted for the most part all Consulships for sixe moneths terme. And if one of the two Consuls hapned to die about the Kalends of Januarie, hee substituted none in his steede: as misliking altogether the old precedent of Caninius Rebilus, who was Consul but one day. Triumphall ornaments he gave even unto those that had borne Questours dignity only: yea and to some of the Gentlemens degree, and verily not alwaies for any militarie service. His Orations¹ sent into the Senate concerning certaine matters, hee caused for the most part to be read and rehearsed by the Consuls, passing by the Questours Office.²

He devised a new forme of the City buildings: and namely, that before the *Ædifices* standing by themselves, and other houses, likewise there should be Porches. From the Solars whereof,³ all Skarefires might be put by and repelled; and those he built⁴ at his owne charges. Hee had an intention once to set out and enlarge the walls of Rome, even as farre as to Ostia; and from thence by a Fosse to let the Sea into old Rome. Many matters under him were both severely punished and also restrained, yea and likewise newly ordained. Expences in his daies had a gage and stint set upon them. The publick suppers were brought downe to small Collations. Forbidden it was that any thing sodden, but only pulse, and worts should be sold in Taverns and Cookes houses; where as before time, there was no maner of viands but it was set out to sale. The Christians, a kinde of men given to a new, wicked and mischievous Superstition, were put to death with

¹ Which else where be called Epistles.

² Unto whom properly it appertained.

³ From the front of such *Ædifices*.

⁴ Or promised rather to build.

grievous torments. The sports of Chariotiers, wherein by an old and licentious custome they had been allowed to range up and downe, to beguile folke, to pilfer and steale in merri-ment, were prohibited. The factions of the Pantomimi together with the Actours themselves were banished and sent away.¹

Against forgers of writings, then first came up this invention that no books or instruments should be signed unlesse they were boared and had a thred three times drawne through the holes. Provided it was, That in Wills the two first parts thereof should be shewed as blanks, unto those that came to seale the same: having the Testatours name onely written therein. Item, that no Clerk or Notarie, who was to draw and write another mans will, should put downe any Legacie for himselfe. Item, that they who had sutes depending in Court, should pay the certaine due fee set downe by Law, for pleading of their causes: but for the Benches,² nothing, considering the Chamber of the Citie allowed the same gratis and to be free. Item, that in the pleading and deciding of controversies all causes debated afore time before the Maisters of the Exchequer or Citie Chamber should bee removed unto the Common Hall,³ to be tried before the Commissioners and Delegates called Recuperatores. Finally, that all appeales from the Judges should be made unto the Senate.

Having no will, no motion, nor hope at any time, to propagate and enlarge the Empire, he thought once to have withdrawne the forces even out of Britaine: neither gave he over that intent of his, but onely for very shame; least he

¹ As there were sundrie factions or crewes favourizing this or that colour of the Chariotters, so were there likewise of Actours and players, whereupon many roits, outrages, Fraies and murthers were committed.

² It should seeme, that for the pleading and triall of causes, such Tribunal seats, pues, benches and barrs, were erected at first, for the present occasion, and taken downe againe by certaine persons, who gathered therefore a rent of those that went to law.

³ Or Pleas.

might be thought to deprave the glory of his Father (Claudius). Onely the realme of Pontus with the leave of Polemon, as also the Kingdome of the Alpes, by the death of King Cottius hee reduced into the forme of a Province.

Two voyages and no more he undertooke, the one to Alexandria, the other into Achaia. But his journey to Alexandria hee gave over the very day of his setting forth: by occasion that he was disquieted at once, both with a religious scruple and also with some perill. For when hee had gone in procession about all the temples, and sitten downe within the Chappel of Vesta, as he was rising up, first the hem or edge of his Gowne stucke to the seate, and after this, arose so darke a mist before his eyes, that uneth he could see and looke about him. In Achaia hee attempted to digge through Isthmus,¹ and in a frequent assembly made a speech unto the Pretorian Souldiours, exhorting them to begin the worke: and having given the signall by sound of trumpet, himselfe first brake up the ground with a little spade;² and when hee had cast up the earth, caried it forth upon his owne shoulders in a scuttle. He prepared also an expedition to the Caspian gates: for which hee enrolled a newe Legion of Italian young Souldiours sixe foote high: this Legion hee called the Phalanx or Squadron of Alexander the Great. These particulars premised, partly deserving no blame, and in part worthy even of no meane praise, have I collected together, that I might sever and distinguish them from his villanies and wicked acts, whereof from henceforward I will make report.

Among other arts and sciences, beeing in his childhood trained up in the skill also of musick: no sooner attained he to the Empire, but he sent for Terpnus the harper, renowned in those dayes for his cunning above all other. Sitting by him as he played and sung, day by day after supper until it

¹ i. of Corinth. Many had attempted this beside him: but all their cost and labour came to nought.

² This by some Writers, was of gold.

was far in the night, himselfe likewise by little and little began to practise and exercise the same: yea and not to let passe anie meanes that expert professors in that kind were wont to do, eyther for preserving or the bettering and fortifying of their voices: even to weare before him upon his brest a thin plate or sheet of lead: to purge by clystre or vomit: to absteine from apples and fruite, with all such meates as were hurtfull to the voice: so long, untill his proceedings stil drawing him on, (a smal and rusty voice though he had) he desired to come forth and shew himselfe upon the open stage, having among his familiar companions this Greeke proverbe evermore in his mouth, That hidden musicke was nought worth. The first time that he mounted the stage was at Naples, where he gave not over singing, (albeit the Theatre was shaken and ready to fall by a suddaine earthquake) before he had finished the song begun. In the same place he chaunted often and many dayes together. Moreover, after some short time betweene taken to repaire his voice (as one impatient of keeping within house) from the baines there he passed directly to the Theatre [at Naples]: and having in the midst of the *Orchestra* before a frequent multitude of people feasted and banquetted, made promise in the Greek tongue, that if he had sipped a little and wet his whistle, he would ring out some note more fully and with a stronger brest. Now, beeing much delighted with the Alexandrines praises in prict song,¹ who newly in a second voiage had with their fleet conflowed to Naples, he sent for more of them out of Alexandria. And never the later he chose from all parts youths of Gentlemens degree, and not so few as 5000 of the lustiest and strongest young men out of the commons, who beeing sorted into factions should learne certaine kinde of shouts and applauses, which they tearmed *Bombos*, *Imbrices* and *Testas*:²

¹ Tuned and composed to the rules and measures of Musick, in the praise of him, by the merchants of Alexandria.

² *Bombos*, resembling either the buzzing and humming noise of Bees, or the sound of trumpets; *Imbrices*, much after the manner of that rattling, which a sodaine shewre makes upon the tiles of an house; *Testas*, to expresse the crashing of potshcards or earthen pots, clattering one against another.

also that deft and trim boyes, such as had the thickest bush of hare upon their heads, and were set out in most excellent apparell, and not without a ring on their left hands, should give their attendance upon him as he sung. The cheiftaines and leaders of these had for their stipend 400000 sesterces.¹

Esteeming so highly as he did of singing, he solemnized at Rome also againe the foresaid games called *Neroneum* before the day and time by order appointed.² And when all the people called upon him for his celestial voice,³ he made answer: That he verily would do them that pleasure (being so willing and desirous as they were to heare him): but it should be in his Hortyards. Howbeit, when the corps de garde of the (Pretorian) Souldiers which at that time kept watch and ward seconded the praiers of the common people, willingly he promised to fulfill their minds out of hand in the very place; and without any farther delay caused his owne name to be written in the roll of other professed minstrels and singers to the harpe. Thus having put his lot into the pitcher with the rest, hee entred the stage when his turne came: and withall the Capitaines of the Guard supporting his harpe: after them the tribunes militarie, and close unto them his most inwarde friendes and Minions. Now when hee had taken up his standing, and ended his Proæme, he gave publike notice and pronounced by the voice of Cluvius Rufus, (no meaner man than of Consuls degree) that he would sing and act the storie of Niobe:⁴ and so continued hee well neere unto the tenth houre of the day:⁵ which done he differred the Musicke Coronet due for the present victorie, together with

¹ A Knights living.

² Every fifth yeares.

³ For so would he have it to be called. And Thræseus Pætus was judicially convented and deeply charged because he had never offered sacrifice for that heavenly voice of his [Nero's]. Tacitus.

⁴ Wife of Amphion King of Thebes, who priding herself in her faire issewe 6 sonnes and as manie daughters durst compare with Latona, the mother of Apollo and Diana, but she with her arrowes killed them al, and turned her into a stone.

⁵ Foure of the clocke after noone.

the residue of that gaming unto the next yeare following; and all because he might have occasion oftener to chaunt. But bethinking himselfe that the time was long, hee ceased not to come ever and anon abroad to shew his skill in open place. Hee stucke not also in private shewes and games¹ to doe his devoire, even among common Actors and Stage players: and namely, when one of the Pretours² made offer of a milian of Sesterces. He sung moreover, disguised, Tragædies of the worthies and gods: of noble Ladies likewise in olde time and of goddesses, having their visards³ framed and made to the likenesse of his own face and of some woman whom hee loved. Among the rest he chanted the tale of Canace⁴ travailing in child birth: of Orestes who killed his own Mother:⁵ of Œdipus that plucked out his own eyes,⁶ and of Hercules enraged.⁷ In the acting of which Tragædie, the report goes, that a novice⁸ placed to keepe and guard the entrie of the stage, seeing him dressed and bound with chaines (as the argument of the sayd Tragædie required) ran in a good haste to helpe him.

Exceedingly given hee was of a boy to delight in horsemanship, and with the love of charioting mightily inflamed: and very much would he be talking (forbidden though he were) of the Circean games. And one time as hee was making mone, and bewailing among his skoole-fellowes, the hard fortune of a chariot driver, one of the greene-coate

¹ Of other magistrates, who in respect of the Prince are accounted private.

² Larcus, Lydus, Xiphilin.

³ Or Masques.

⁴ Who was with child by her owne brother Macareus, whereupon her father Æolus caused the childe new borne to be cast before hungrie dogs: and sent a sword to his daughter to kill herselfe with.

⁵ In revenge of his father Agamemnons death, by her murdered, whereupon he fell into a furious kinde of deep melancholie.

⁶ Who unwitting [had] killed his own father Laius, and as ignorantly wedded his own mother Iocasta.

⁷ [Maddened by the Shirt of Nessus.]

⁸ Or young untrained souldier.

faction, drawen and dragged by his steedes, being chidden therefore by his schoole-master, he had a lye ready, and said that he spake of Hector. But, as about his first entrance to the Empire, his custome was daily to play upon a chess-bourde with ivory horses drawing in chariots, so he used to resort also from his retiring place of pleasure, to all the Circean games, even the very least and meanest of them. First by stealth and privily: afterwards in open sight; so as no man made doubt, but at such a day he would be sure alwaies there to be. Neither dissimuled he that hee was willing to augment the number of the prises. And therefore the shew of Chariot running was drawen out in length and helde untill late in the evening, by occasion of manie more courses than ordinarie: so as now the Masters of every faction deigned not to bring forth their crués and companies¹ unlesse they might run the whole day through.² Soone after himselfe also would needs make one and be seene oftentimes to play the Chariotier. And when he had tryed what hee could doe, and performed, as it were, his first Actes in (private) hortyardes among verie slaves and the base commons, he proceeded to shew himselfe in the greatest Cirque in all mens eyes, appointing one of his freedmen to put out a (white) towell for a signall, from the place where Magistrates are wont to doe it. But not content with this, that he had given good prooffe of his progresse in these feats at Rome, hee goes, as I sayde before, into Achaia, moved especially upon this occasion. Those Cities and states where solemne gamings of musicke are usually held, had brought up a custome to sende all the Coronets of harpe-players unto him. This he accepted so kindly, that he not onely admitted at the very first to his presence the Embassadors who brought the same, but also placed them among his familiar guesates at the table. And being requested by some of them to sing at supper time, and highly praised with excessive applause, he came out with this speech, That Græcians were the onely skil-

¹ Either *agitatorum*, i. of chariot drivers: or *Equorum quadrigariorum*, i. of steeds, both to one effecte.

² Which was their greater gaine.

full Hearers, and the men alone worthie of his studies. Neither made he anie longer stay but tooke his voyage: and no sooner was hee passed over the sea to Cassiope,¹ but presently he began to sing at the altar there of Jupiter Casius.

After this, he went to all the games of prise, one after another: for even those that usually are celebrated at most remote and distant times he commanded to be reduced all into one yeare,² and some of them also to be iterated.³ At Olympia likewise hee caused, (contrarie to the manner and custome of that place) a game of musick to be held. And least whiles he was busied about these matters, anie thing might either call him away or detaine him: when he was advertised by his freed-man Helius, that the Citie affaires required his presence, hee wrot backe unto him in these words: 'Albeit your councell to mee at this present and your willing desire is, that I should returne with all speede, yet ought you to advise me and wish rather, that I may returne worthy my selfe, that is to say Nero.' All the while hee was singing, lawefull it was not for anye person to depart out of the Theatre, were the cause never so necessarie. Whereupon reported it is, that some great bellied women falling into travaile were delivered upon the very skaffolds: yea and many men besides, wearie of tedious hearing and praying him, when the towne gates were shut, eyther by stealth leapt downe from the walles, or counterfeiting themselves dead were caried forth as corses to bee buried. But how timorously, with what thought and anguish of minde, with what æmulation of his concurrents and feare of the Umpiers, hee strove for the Mastery, it is almost incredible. His manner was to deale with his adversaries, as if they had been but his æquals and of the same condition with him, in this sort: namely, to observe, watch and mark their behaviours; to ly in the wind for to catch advantage: to defame them under hand, other whiles to raile at them and give them hard tearms as they

¹ A towne in Corcyra.

² Wherein hee thither came.

³ Solemnized twice in the same yeare.

came in his way: yea and to corrupt with bribes¹ and giftes such as excelled in skill and cunning. As for the Judges and Umpiers aforesaid, hee woulde speake unto them in all reverence before he begun to sing, using these tearmes: That hee had done whatsoever was to be done: howbeit, the issue and event was in the hand of Fortune: they therefore, as they were wise men and learned ought to except and barre all chaunces and mishaps. Now upon their exhortations unto him for to be bold and venturous, he would indeed goe awaye from them better appaied, but yet for all that, not without pensive care and trouble of minde: finding fault also with the silence and bashfull modestie of some, as if the same argued their discontented heavinesse and malitious repining, saying withall, That he had them in suspicion.

During the time that hee strove for to winne any prise, so strictly obeyed hee the lawes of the game, that hee never durst once spit and reach up fleame: and the very swet of his forehead hee wiped away with his arme onely.² Moreover in the acting³ of a Tragædie, when he had quickly taken up his staffe⁴ againe, which he happened to let fall, being much dismaied and in great feare, least for that delinquencie hee should be put from the stage: by no meanes tooke he heart againe, until an under actor or prompter standing by sware an oth that it was not espied and marked for the shoutes and acclamations of the people beneath. Now, whensoever he wan the victorie, he used to pronounce himselfe victour. For which cause, he contended also in every place for the Criers coronet.⁵ And to the end, there should remaine extant no memoriall or token of any other victours in these sacred games beside himselfe, hee commanded all their statues and images to be overthrowen, drawn with a drag and so flung into

¹ Thereby to make them relent and not to do their best.

² Or sleeve and not with anie handkercheife.

³ Chaunting.

⁴ It may be thought, that he then acted *Œdipus* or some other king, and therefore carried in his hand a Sceptre.

⁵ Due to him that had the lowest voice.

sinkes and privies. Furthermore, he ran with chariots for the best game in many places, and at the Olympicke solemnities with one that had a teeme of tenne steedes, notwithstanding he reprov'd the very same in K. Mithridates as appeared by certaine verses of his owne making. But being once shaken and hoisted out of his Chariot and set therein againe, howbeit not able to hold out, he desisted and gave over, before he had runne the race through. Yet was he crowned neverthesse. After this, at his departure from thence, he enfranchised the whole Province throughout: and withall, the judges of these Games he endowed with the freedome of Rome, and rewarded with great summes of money. Which benefits of his himselfe published with his owne voice from the middle of the race, upon a day of the Isthmian games.

Being returned out of Greece hee entred Naples, mounted upon a Chariot drawne with white horses: for that, in the said Citie he had made profession first of his skill, (in musicke) and a part of the wall was cast downe against his comming, (as the manner is of all victours in those sacred games). Semblably rode he into Antium, and from thence into Albanum and so forward into Rome. But he entred Rome in the very same Chariot, wherein sometime Augustus had rode in triumph, clad in a purple cloke, and the same garnished with starres embrodered in golde: wearing upon his head the Olympicke Coronet,¹ and bearing in his right hand the Pythisk:² with a pompe and gallant shewe of the rest before him,³ together with their titles and inscriptions testifying, where, and whom, in what kinde of songe or fabulous argument, hee had wonne: not without a traine also of Applauders,⁴ following his Chariot, after the manner of those that ride ovant in petie Triumph setting up a note, and crying with a lowde voice, That they were Augustians, and

¹ Made of the wilde Olive branches.

² Of Lawrell.

³ Isthmian, of Pine, and Nemean of smallach or persley.

⁴ Five thousand were there of these Gallants, as Xiphilinus writeth, ready to applaud him when he chaunted.

the souldiers of his triumph. From thence he rode forward, and having throwne downe the Arch of the greatest Cirque, he passed on through the Velabrum and market place, up to the Palatium and so to the temple of Apollo. To do him honor all the way as he went, were beasts killed for sacrifice, and saffron eftsoones strewed along the streets. Birdes were let flie, ribbands also and labels yea and sweete banketting junkets cast among. As for the sacred Coronets and guirlands aforesayde, he bestowed them in his owne bed-chamber round about his beds: likewise his owne statues pourtraied in the habit of an harper, and with that marke stamped he his money. And after all this, (so farre was he from letting slacke and remitting one jote his ardent study of his musicke profession) that for the preservation of his voice he would never make speech unto his souldiours, but absent:¹ or having another to pronounce his words for him;² nor yet do ought in earnest or mirth without his Phonascus³ by, to put him in minde for to spare his pipes and hold his handkerchiefe to his mouth: and to many a man hee eyther offered friendship, or denounced enmitie, according as every one praised him more or lesse.

His unruly wildnesse, unbridled lust, wastfull riotousnesse, avarice and cruelty, he practised verely at first, by leasure closely, as the trickes of youthfull folly: yet so, as even then no man might doubt, that they were the inbred vices of nature, and not the errors of young age. No sooner was it twi-light and the evening shut in but presently he would catch up a hood on his head, and so disguised, goe into tavernes and victualling houses: walke the streetes playing and sporting all the way, but yet not without shrewd turnes and dooing mischief. For he used to fall upon those that came late from supper and knocke them soundly: yea and (if they struggled with him and made resistance,) to wound and drowne them in the sinkes and towne ditches: to breake

¹ *i. Per Nuntios* by messengers sent betweene.

² When himself was present.

³ A moderatour of his voice.

into petie shops also, and rifle them: for he had set up in his house at home a faire, there to receive the price of the bootie which hee had gotten, and was to bee solde to who would give most and bid best therefore. But many a time at such brawles and skuffings aforesaied, he endangered his eyes, yea and his life too; being once beaten well neere to death by a certaine young gentleman of Senatours degree,¹ whose wife he had misused with uncleane handling. Whereupon, never after durst he goe abroad into the streets at that houre of the night, without his militarie Tribunes following after him aloofe and secretly. In the day time also, beeing caried close in a chaire into the Theatre, hee would be present in person, and from the upper part of the *Proscænium* both give a signall to the seditious factions of players (setting them together by the eares) and also behold them how they bickered. Now when they were come once to plaine fight, skirmishing with stones and fragments of broken seates, skaffolds, himselfe stucke not to fling apace at the people, in so much as once he brake the pretours head.

But as his vices grewe by little and little to get head, he laide aside these wilde trickes by way of sport and in secret: and without all care of concealing and dissimuling the matter, broke out openly to greater outrages. His meales hee drewe out at length: eating and drinking from noone to midnight, dowssed and fomented oftentimes in cesternes of hote waters, and in sommer season within bathes altered and made colde with snowe. His suppers hee tooke divers times abroad also in publike places, to wit, in the Naumachia² shut up and enclosed; or in Mars felde; or else in the greatest cirque: where hee was served and attended upon by all the common Queanes

¹ It appeareth by Tacitus, that this was Julius Fontanus, who, albeit he had not sitten in counsell as Senator, yet was *Laticlavius*, and wore the Senators Robe. Such Gentlemen were called *Iuvenes secundi ordinis*, in distinction of those of the Imperiall bloud, or otherwise neere allied unto the Emperour.

² A broad place, wherein a Naval fight had sometime been exhibited but then filled up, yet it caried the former name still.

of the Citie, and stinking strumpets of the stewes. So often as hee went downe the River Tiberis to Ostia, or sayled along the Baian Creeke, there were provided in divers places of the strond and bankes, boothes to baite in, conspicuous brothell houses and taverns; where stood married dames after the manner of hostesses and victualling wives calling unto him; some here, some there on both sides of the bankes, intreating him to land and turne in to them. His manner was also to give warning unto his familiar friends, and bid him selfe to supper: and one of them it cost in sweet meats 4 millions of sesterces: and another a good deale more in rose water and odoriferous oyles or perfumes of Roses from Syrtium.

Over and besides . . . the keeping of mens wives as his concubines, he forced also and deflowered Rubria, a vestale Virgin. Acte a freed woman he went very neere to have wedded as his lawefull wife: suborning certaine men who had beene Consuls, to avouch and forswear, That she was of Roiall blood descended. . . . [Here follows an account of Nero's relations with Sporus and Agrippina and of his filthy actions disguised as a beast. Of this the translator writes: "I wish that both Suetonius and Dio had in this place and such like been altogether silent."] I have heard of divers that he was fully perswaded, No man nor woman was honest, or in any part of their bodies pure and cleane, but most of them dissimuled their uncleannesse and craftily hid it. As many therefore as professed unto him their obscene filthinesse, he forgave all other faults and trespasses whatsoever.

The fruite of richesse and use of money, he tooke to be nothing else but lavish expense: thinking them to be very base niggards and mechanically pinch-pennies, that kept any account or reckoning what they spent and layde out; but such only passing rich and right *Magnificoes*, who mispent and wasted all. He praised and admired his uncle Caius in no respect more, than for that hee had lashed out and consumed in a short space an huge masse of wealth, left unto him by Tiberius: hee kept therefore no meane, nor made

anye end of prodigall giving and making away all. Hee allowed unto Tiridates¹ (a thing almost incredible) 800000 Sesterces, day by day, for his expenses, and at his departure bestowed upon him not so little as one hundred milians. Menecrates the harper, and Spicillus the sword-fenser hee enfeofed in the livings, patrimonies and houses of right noble personages, who had triumphed. Cercopithecus, whom hee had enriched with the lands and houses, (as well within the Citie as Countrey) of Panercos the Usurer, he honoured like a Prince at his funerals; and entered with the charges well neere of a royall sepulture. No garments did hee on his backe twice: at hazard when he played, he ventured no lesse than 400000 sesterces at a cast, upon every point or pricke of the chaunce.² Hee fished with a golden net (drawen and knit) with cords twisted of purple and crimsen silke in graine. He never by report when he made anie journey, had under a thousand carroches in his traine. His mules were shod with silver. His mulitiers arraied in fine (red) Canusme cloth: and attended he was with a multitude of Mazaces³ and Curreurs gaily set out with their bracelets and their riche Phalers.

In no one thing was hee more wastefull and prodigall then in building. Hee made an house, that reached from the *Palatium* to the *Esquiliæ*: which at first he called his Transitorie:⁴ but when it had been consumed with fire and was reedefied hee named his golden ædifice. As touching the large compasse and receipt, the rich furniture and setting out whereof, it may suffice to relate thus much. The porch was of such an height as therein might stand upright the geant-like image representing his owne person, an hundred and

¹ A great Magician, whom he entertained thus royally, because he would have learned magicke of him.

² Take *Sestertium* here in the newter gender: otherwise, it were but a meane venture for such an one as Nero: as amounting not above 3l. 2s. 6d. Whereas now, it ariseth to 3125l.

³ Horse men of Africke and Cappadocia.

⁴ As one would say, the passage from one hill to another.

twentie foote high. So large was this house, as that it contained three galleries of a mile a peece in length. Item, a standing poole like unto a sea, and the same enclosed round about with buildings in forme of Cities. It received moreover graunges with cornefields, vineyards, pastures and woodes to them stored with a multitude of divers and sundry beasts both tame and wilde of all sorts. In all other parts thereof, all was laide over with golde, garnished with precious stones and shels of pearle.¹ As for the parlours, framed they were with enbowed roufs, seeled with pannils of Ivorie, devised to turne round and remove so as flours might be skattered from thence: with a devise also of pipes and spouts to cast and sprinkle sweet oyles from aloft. But of al these parlours and banqueting roomes, the principall and fairest was made rounde, to turne about continually both day and night, in manner of the World.² The banes within this house flowed with salte water derived from the sea, and with fresh from the rivers Albulæ. This ædifice finished after such a fashion as this, when he dedicated,³ thus farre forth onely he liked, as that hee sayd, He now at length began to dwell like a man. Furthermore, hee began a poole reaching from Misenum to the Meere Avernus, covered all above head, enclosed and environed with Cloistures: into which all the hote waters that were in the Bathes of Baiaë might bee conveyed. Likewise he cast a fosse from the sayde Avernus, as farre as to Ostia, and the same navigable: that men forsooth might saile in ships, and yet not be upon the sea. This caried in length 160 miles, and bare, that breath, as gallies with 5 ranks of oares might passe to and fro thereupon. For the performing of these workes, he had given commandement, that all prisoners wheresoever should be transported into Italie: and that no person attaint and convict of anie wicked act, should be condemned otherwise, but to worke thereat.

To these outrageous expenses, beside the trust and con-

¹ Mother of pearle.

² Or heaven.

³ Made his first entrie into it after a solemne and festivall manner.

fidence he had in the reueneues of the Empire, put forward hee was upon a certaine unexpected hope also that he conceived, of finding a world of wealth: and that through intelligence given unto him by a gentleman of Rome, who assured him upon his knowledge, that the rich treasure and old store of silver and gold both, which Queene Dido flying out of Tyros caried away with her, lay buried in Affricke within most huge and vaste caves under the ground, and might be gotten forth with some small labour of those that would goe about it. But when this hope failed him and came to nothing, being now altogether destitute, and so far exhaust and bare of money, that of necessity even souldiours pay, and the fees due unto olde servitours in the wars for their service must run on stil and be differred, he bent his mind to promoting of false imputations, to pilling also and polling. First and formost hee brought up this order, that out of the goods of freedmen deceased in steed of the one half, three 4th parts should be exacted and gathered for him, of as many, I say as without publike cause bare that name, which anie of those families did, whereunto himselfe was allied. Afterwards, that their wils should be forfaite and confiscate, who were unthankful to the Prince.¹ Item, that Lawiers should not escape free and go cleere awaie, who had drawen and written such wils: as also, that all deeds and words should bee brought within the compasse of treason: if there could be found but anie promoter to give information. He called moreover after a long time passed, for the rewards and Coronets due to victours, which ever at any times the Cities and States had presented or decreed unto him at the games of prise. And whereas hee had prohibited the use of the Amethyst and purple colours, he suborned one of purpose under hand to sell upon a market day some few ounces thereof, and thereupon made stay of all occupiers and chapmen² whatsoever, and laid them fast. Furthermore, having espied once (as he was singing) a dame of Rome from the skaffolds in the Theatre, arraied in purple forbidden by the

¹ Remembred him not in their wils and made him not an heyre.

² Who had bought the saide colours.

law,¹ himselfe pointed at her (as it is verily thought) and shewed her to his Procuratours: and presently caused the woman to be haled from thence and turned out, not only of her garments but also of all the goods shee had. He assigned on office to no man, but he used these words withall, Thou knowest what I have neede of. Also, Let us looke to this, that no man may have anie thing. To conclude, he robbed the Temples of many giftes and oblations: the Images likewise therein made of golde or silver he melted into a masse: and among the rest, even those of the Tutelar gods (of Rome):² which soone after Galba restored and erected againe in their places.

As touching his Parricides and murders hee began them first with Claudius: of whose death although he were not principall author, yet he was privie and accessarie thereto, Neither dissimuled he so much, as who afterwards was wont by a Greeke by-word, to praise mushromes, (in which kinde of meat Claudius had taken his bane), as the foode of the gods.³ Certes, he abused him after hee was dead in most spitefull and contumelious manner, both in word and deede, every way: taunting and twitting him, one while with his folly, another while with his crueltie. For, in scoffing wise he would say of him that hee had left now *morari*⁴ anie longer among mortall men, using the first sillable of the sayd word long. And many of his decrees and constitutions he

¹ Julia: which Cæsar Dictator made.

² Apollo, Neptune, Jupiter, Juno, Minerva.

³ Alluding to the deification after his death.

⁴ In this verbe *Morari*, there is couched a double sense, which gives the grace unto this pleasant scoffe. For, being a meere Latin word, and having the first sillable by nature short, it signifieth, to stay or to make long abide: and taking it thus, Nero might be thought to imply thus much, that Claudius was now departed out of the companie of mortall men, and raunged among the heavenly wights. But take the same word, as Nero spake it, derived of *moros* in Greeke, which signifieth, A foole, and hath the first syllable long, it importeth, that Claudius played the foole no longer here in the world among men.

annulled as the acts of a doltish and doting man. Finally, he neglected to place his funerall fire¹ suffering it to be empaied,² but with sleight stuffe and low railes of timber. As for Britannicus, not so much for envie that he had a sweeter and pleasanter voice than himselfe, as for feare least another day he should bee more gracious than he among men, in remembrance of his Father, he attempted to make him away by poison. This poison, Nero had received at the hands of one Locusta, a woman who appeached and brought to light divers confectioners of poysons: and seeing it wrought later than he looked it should doe, and prooved not to his mind, by reason that it mooved Britannicus to the stoole onely and caused a laske, he sent for the said woman, and beate her with his owne hands: laying hardly to her charge that in steede of a poyson she had given him a remedie and holsome medecine. Now when shee alleaged for her excuse that she gave him the lesse dose, thereby to colour and cloke the odious fact, which would have bred much anger and hatred: 'Why! then belike,' quoth he, 'I am affraide of the lawe Julia.' And so hee forced her before his face in his owne bed-chamber to compound and seeth a poison that should be most quicke and of present operation. And then having made triall thereof in a kid, after he saw once that the beast continued five houres before it dyed, he caused the same to be boyled againe and manie times more, and so he set it before a pig. And when the pig dyed presently upon the taking thereof, hee commanded it should be brought into his refec-tion chamber, and given unto Britannicus as he sat at supper with him. No sooner had he tasted it but hee fell downe dead. Nero readily made a lye and gave it out among the rest of his guests, that Britannicus was surprised by a fit of the falling sicknesse, as his manner was to be. But the next morrow, in all hast hee tooke order for his corps to bee caried forth to buriall, with no better funerals than ordinarie; and

¹ The Romans in honour of their Princes, were wont to compasse this all about with a wall of flint, or other durable stone, as marble.

² As the manner was for certaine daies before the ashes and reliques were gathered up.

that, in an exceeding great storme of raine. Unto the sayd Locusta, for her service done, he granted impunitie:¹ he ended her also with faire lands: yea and allowed her to have schollers for to be trained up under her in that feat.

His owne mother, for looking narrowly into him, and examining his words and deedes somewhat streightly; for seeming also to correct and reforme the same, thus farre forth onely at the first he was grieved and offended with, as that eft-soones he made her odious to the world, pretending that he was about to resigne up the Empire and depart to Rhodes.² Soone after, he deprived her of all honour, dignity, and authority: and removing from about her the guard of Germaine Souldiours that attended upon her person, hee banished her out of the same house with him, and so forth out of the precincts of the Palace: neither cared he what he did, so he might molest and trouble her: suborning some of purpose, both to disquiet her whiles shee abode in Rome with suites and actions; and also when shee was desirous of repose and ease in a retiring place out of the way, to course her with reproachfull taunts and flouting scoffes as they passed that way either by land or sea. But beeing terrified with her threats and violent shrewdnesse, hee determined to kill and dispatch her at once. Having attempted it with poison thrice, and perceiving that shee was defended with antidotes and preservatives, he provided a bed-chamber for her, with so ticklish an arched roufe over her head, as being easily unjoined, the frame thereof might fall in peeces in the night, and light upon her as she lay a sleepe. When this desaigne could not be kept close, but was revealed by some of the complices privie thereto, hee devised a ship, so made, as that quickly it should cleave a sunder: that either by the wrack, or fall of the fore-deck aloft, she might come to a mischiefe and perish. And so, making a semblance of a Love-day and reconciliation, hee sent for her by most sweet and kinde Let-

¹ For her former practise of poisoning, by which she stooode condemned.

² As if she were the cause thereof.

ters training her unto Baiæ, there to celebrate with him the solemnity of the *Quinquatrian*.¹ And having given order before hand to certaine Maisters of Gallies for to split the Foist² wherein she was imbarqued, as if by chaunce they were run full upon her, he made it late ere he went to the feast, and sat long at it. Now when she was to returne back againe unto Bauli, in lieu of that vessell thus shaken and crackt, he put unto her the other abovesaid made with joints and vices, easie to fall in pieces: and so, with a cheerefull countenance accompanied her (to the water side) and at the parting also kissed her paps. All the time after, he lay awake in great trouble and feare, waiting for the issue of these enterprises. But when he understood that all went crosse, and that she was escaped to land by swimming; being altogether to seeke what course to take, as L. Agerinus, her freed-man brought word with great joy, How she was escaped alive and safe, he conveyed privily a dagger close to him;³ and as if he had been suborned and hired secretly (by her) to kill him, caused the said Agerinus to be apprehended and bound with chaines: and withall, his mother aforesaid, to be mured: pretending, as if by voluntary death she had avoided the odious crime thus detected, and so made her selfe away. Worse matter yet than all this and more horrible is reported beside, and that by Authors of good credit and who will stand to it: namely, That he ran in all hast to view the dead body of his mother when she was killed: that he handled every part and member of it: found fault with some, commended others: and being thirsty in the meane time,⁴ tooke a draught of drink. Howbeit, notwithstanding hee was hartned by the joyous gratulation of Souldiours, Senate, and People, yet could he not either for the present or ever after, endure the worme and sting of conscience for this foule fact, but confesse many a time, that haunted and harried he was with the apparition of his mothers ghost: tormented also with the scourges and burn-

¹ A feast in the honour of Minerva, beginning five daies before the Ides of March, i. the 11 of March.

² Or Pinnace.

³ Between his feete. Tacitus.

⁴ About midnight it was.

ing torches of the Furies. Moreover, with a sacrifice made by direction of magicians, he assaied to raise up her soule and spirite, and to intreate the same to forgive him. Verily as hee travailed through Greece, at the sacred Eleusine ceremonies (from the institution and professing wherein all impious, godlesse, and wicked persons are by the voyce of a cryer debarred) he durst not be present. To this parricidy of his mother, he adjoynd also the murder of his aunt.¹ For when upon a time he visited her lying sicke of a costive bellie, and she a woman now well stept in yeares, in handling the tender downe of his beard new budding forth, chanced, (as the manner is) by way of pleasing speech, to say, 'Might I but live to take up this soft haire when it fals,² I would be willing to dye'; he turning to those that stood next unto him, in derision and scoffing manner sayde, 'Mary and even streight wayes I will cut it of (for her sake),' and so made no more adoe but gave order³ unto the Phisitian to plye the sicke woman still with stronger purgatives.⁴ For, even before she was through dead, he laide sure hold of her goods, and suppressed her last wil that nothing might escape his clutches.

Besides Octavia,⁵ he married afterwards two wives: to wit, Poppæa Sabina the daughter of one⁶ who had beene Questor, and the wedded wife before of a romane Knight:⁷ then, Statilia Messallina, neice in the third degree removed of Taurus,⁸ twice Consul, who had once triumphed. For to have and enjoy her, he murdered her husband Atticus Vestinus

¹ Domitia by his fathers side.

² As if she wold say, If I might see thee once a man growen, etc., for he came to be Emperour before he was 18 yeere olde.

³ You must suppose, he sent for the barber first, etc.

⁴ As purging was the cure, so it was the colourable means whereby she was killed.

⁵ The daughter of Claudius.

⁶ Titus Ossius.

⁷ Rufius Crispus.

⁸ Statilius who in Augustus time built the great Amphitheatre in Rome, bearing his name.

then Consul, even during the time of that honorable Magistracie. Soone wearie he was of Octaviæ's companie and forsooke her bed. And when some friends reproved him for it he made answeere, that the jewels and ornaments only of a wife ought to content her. Soon after, when he had assayed many times (but in vaine) to strangle her, he put her away, pretending she was barraine. But when the people misliked this divorce, and forbare not to raile upon him for it, he proceeded, even to confine and banish her quite. In the end he murdred her, under a colourable imputation of divers adulteries, charged upon her so impudently and falsely, that when al generally who were by torture examined upon the point, stood stoutly to the very last in deniall, he suborned and brought in Anicetus¹ his own Pædagogue against her, who should slander himselfe with her and confesse that by a wile he had abused her bodie. The twelfth day after the said divorcement of Octavia, he espoused and married the afore-said dame Poppæa, whom he loved intirely; and yet even her also he killed with a kicke of his heele, for that, being big with child and sickly withall, she had reviled him and given him shrewd words, for comming home so late one night, after his running with chariots. By her he had a daughter named Claudia Augusta, whom he buried when she was a very infant. There was no kinde of affinitie and consanguinity were it never so neere, but it felt the waight of his deadly hand. Antonia, the daughter of Claudius, refusing after the death of Poppæa to bee his wife, he slew, under a pretense as if she went about to conspire against him and to alter the state. Semblably, he killed all the rest, that were either allied unto him or of his kinred. Among whom, A. Plautius a young gentleman was one. Whose bodie, after he had by force filthily against kind abused before his death: 'Let my mother go now,' quoth he 'and kisse my successors sweet lips': giving it out, that he was her welbeloved dearling, and by her set on to hope and gape after the Empire. His sonne in law Rufinus Crispinus, the son of Poppæa² being yet of

¹ Who had brought him up in his childhood.

² His wife, by Rufus Crispus, a former husband.

tender yeeres and a youth under age, because the report went of him, that in game he would play for Dukedomes and Empires, he gave order unto his owne servants for to drowne in the sea, whiles he was there fishing. Tuscus his nources sonne he confined and sent away, for that being his procuratour in Ægypt, he had bathed in those baines which were built against his comming. His Preceptor and Schoole-master Seneca he compelled to dye:¹ albeit he had sworne unto him very devoutely, (when he made suite many times for a licence to depart the Court, and yeelded up therewith all his goods into his hands) That he [Seneca] had no cause to suspect him: for he would rather lose his owne life than doe him anie hurt. Unto Burrhus, Captaine (of the garde) he promised a medicine to heal his swollen throat,² and sent him the rank poison Toxicum for it. His freedmen,³ that were rich and olde, whose favour, friendship and directions had stood him in good steede for procuring unto him in times past adoption, and afterwards the Imperial rule, he cut short every one by poyson, partly put into their meats and partly mingled with their drinks.

With no lesse cruelty raged hee abroad even against strangers and meere forainers. A blazing hairy starre, commonly thought to portend death and destruction to the highest poures, began to arise, and had appeared many nights together. Beeing troubled therewith, and enformed by Babilus the Astrologer, that Kings were wont to expiate such prodigious signes with some notable massacre, and so divert the same from themselves, and turne all upon the heads of their Peeres and Nobles, he thereupon projected the death of all the Noblest personages in the Citie. And verily, so much the rather, and, as it were, upon just cause, by reason of two conspiracies by him published and divulged abroad: of which, the former and the greater, bearing the name of Piso, was

¹ To cut the master veines of armes and legs and so to bleed to death.

² A squinancie.

³ Namely, Doriphorus and Pallas: Tacitus.

plotted and detected at Rome: the latter going under the name of Vinicius at Beneventum. The conspiratours had their triall, and pleaded bound with three-fold chaines: and as some of them confessed the action of their owne accord, so others¹ said moreover, That he was beholden unto them for it, because they could not possibly doe a cure upon him by any other meanes, (disteined as he was and dishonoured with all kinde of wicked actes) but onely by death. The children of the condemned were expelled the Citie, and then, dispatched with poison or hunger-starved. It is for certaine knownen, that some of them with their pædagogues and booke-keepers tooke their bane all at one dinner together, others were restrained for seeking and earning their daily food.

After this without all choise and respect, without all measure in his hand, he spared none: he put to death whomsoever it pleased him, and for what cause it skilled not. But not to make long relation of many, it was laid to Salvidienus Orcitus charge, that he had set and let three shops out of his house about the forum, unto the Cities and States abroad for (their Embassadours) for to make their abode and converse in. To Cassius Longinus the lawier (a man bereft of both his eyes) objected it was, that in the antient pedigree of his own house and lineage, he had set up againe the images of C. Cassius, one of them that muredred Cæsar. To Pætus Thraseas, for having a sterne and severe countenance like a Pædagogue. When these with other were appointed once to dy, he allowed them no more then one houres respite to live after, and because no further delay might come between, he put unto them Chyrurgians (in case they lingred and made no hast) to cure them out of hand, (for that was the term he used) meaning thereby, to cut their veines and let them bleed to death. It is verily thought also, that to a certein great eater (an Ægyptian borne) that used to feed on raw flesh and whatsoever was given him, he had a great desire to cast men alive, for to be quartered cut in peeces and devoured by him. Being lifted and puffed up, with these as it were,

¹ And by name Sulpitius Asper.

so great successes, he said that no prince ever knew what he might do: and oftentimes he cast out many words betokening very significantly, that he would not spare the Senators remaining behind, but one day utterly rase that order and degree out of the common-wealth, and permit the gentlemen of Rome and his freed-men only to rule provinces and have the conduct of armies. Certes, neither at his comming home nor going forth any whether, vouchsafed he to kisse any one of them, no nor so much as once to resalute them: and when with formall complements he entred upon his worke of digging through Isthmus,¹ he wished and praied alowd before a frequent audience, That the enterprise might speed well and turne to the weale of himselfe and the people of Rome, concealing and suppressing al mention of the Senate.²

But yet for al that, he spared not the people nor forbare the very wals and buildings of his country the Citie. When one in common talke upon a time chaunced to say,

When vitall breath is fled from me,
Let earth with fire imingled be:

‘Nay rather,’ quoth he,

Whiles vital breath remains in me, etc.

And even so he did indeede: for being offended, as it were with the ylfavoured fashion of the olde house, as also with the narrow, crooked and winding streets, he set the citie of Rome on fire so apparantly, that many Citizens of Consuls degree, taking his chamberlaines in the maner with matches, touchwood and hurds in their messuages (within the Citie) would not once lay hand on them but let them alone: yea and certein garners and store houses about his golden Ædifice (for that the plot of ground on which they were situate, his mind stood most unto) were by war-engins forcibly shaken,

¹ In Achaia, nere Corinth.

² Comprising therein the gentlemens degree: not *Senatui*, *populoque Rom.* as the manner had beene.

thrown down and fired, by reason they were built with stone wals. For 6 dayes and 7 nights together raged he in this wise making havocke of all, and driving the common-people to take up their Innes¹ and shrowd themselves the while about the toumbs and moniments of the dead. During this time, beside an infinit number of houses standing apart from others, the goodly ædifices and buildings of noble capitains in old time, adorned stil and beautified with the spoiles of enemies, the stately temples also of the gods, vowed and dedicated by the auntient kings first, and afterwards in the Punick and French wars;² burned all, on a light fire: and in one word, whatsoever remained from old time worth the seeing and memorable was consumed. This fire, beheld he daily out of Mæcenas high toure: and taking joye (as he sayd himselfe) at the beautiful flame that it made, chaunted the winning and destruction of Troie, in that Musitians habit wherein he was wont to sing upon the stage. And because he would not misse, but lay fast holde upon all the bootie and pillage which possibly hee could come by, even from thence also, having promised free leave to cast forth dead karkasses, and rid away the rammell of the ruines, looke what reliques remained of all their goods and substance unburnt, he permitted not one to goe unto it. Finally, not onely by receiving, but also by exacting Contributions from all parts, he beggered well neere the provinces and consumed the wealth of private persons.

To amend the matter well, unto these harmes and reprochefull dishonors (of the State) so great as they were arising from the Prince, there happened also some other calamities by chance and fortune: to wit, a pestilence continuing one autumnne, whereby thirtie thousand burials were reckoned in the record of Libitina;³ an unfortunate losse in Britaine, wherein two principall townes of great importance

¹ Or lodgings.

² With the Carthaginians.

³ In whose temple were to be bought or hired, whatsoever pertained to funerals and burials; Varro. Plutarch taketh her for Venus.

were sacked,¹ with great slaughter besides of Romane Citizens and Allies: a shamefull disgrace received in the East by reason that the Romane Legions in Armenia were put under the yoke as Slaves, and Syria was hardly and with much adoe kept in tearmes of allegiance. But a wonder it was to see, and a thing especially to be noted, that amid all these infortunities hee tooke nothing lesse to the heart, than the shrewd checks and reviling taunts of Men: and was to none more milde, than to such as had provoked him, either with hard speeches, or opprobrious verses. Many infamous libels and defamatorie words, both in Greek and Latine, were publicly written, or otherwise cast and spread abroad against him, as for example these:

Nero, Orestes, Alcmaeon² did shorten mothers life:

Nero slew his,³ when newly her he wedded as his wife.⁴

Quis neget Æneæ magna de stirpe Neronem?

Sustulit hic matrem, sustulit ille patrem.

Who can deny, of great Ænea our Nero sprung to be

That rid his mother of her life, as Sire from fire did hee? ⁵

Dum tendit citharam noster, dum Cornua Parthus,

Noster erit Pæan, ille Hecatebeletes.

¹ i. Maldon and London ij. Colonies; and together with them, Verulamium a Burrough free town, (in the ruines whereof S. Albanes now standeth) in which places 7000 (by report) were slain of Citizens and Alies.

² Alcmaeon sonne of Amphiaraus and Eriphlye, killed her, bycause shee had contrived his fathers death.

³ To wit Agrippina.

⁴ [This distich was in Greek.]

⁵ Æneas caried his old father Anchises upon his shoulders out of the fyre of Troy when it burned. Here is to be noted the duple sense of the verbe [*Sustulit*] in one and the same Latin verse: for in the former place, it signifieth to Kill, or make away, as Nero did his mother, in the later, to take up and cary, as Æneas did his father. This yeeldeth an elegant grace in Latin, and cannot so well be expressed in English.

Whiles our Nero bendeth his harpe while Parthian his bow;
Our prince shall be Pæan. Hee Hecatebeletes.¹

*Roma Domus fiet: Veios migrate Quirites
Sinon et Veios occupet ista Domus.*

Rome will become a dwelling house: to Veii flit a pace.
Quirites, lest this house before ye come take up the place.²

But no search made he after the authours hereof, and some of them being by the Appeacher convented before the Senate, he would not suffer to sustaine any grievous punishment. As he passed by in the open street, Isidorus the Cynick, had checked him alowd in these tearmes, That he used to chaunt the calamities of Nauplius³ very well, but disposed of his owne goods as badly. And Datus, a plaier of the Atellane Comædies⁴ in a certein Sonet singing these words, *Hugiaine*

¹ Apollo was surnamed *Pæan* of *paiein* in Greek, which signifieth to strike, or of *pauein*, to ease and allay paine, as being a God, that both sendeth diseases, and also cureth them. But commonly the Romaines terme him so, in this latter and better sense. He is styled likewise Hecatebeletes in Greek, which is as much, as shooting or wounding from afarr. In these abstruse significations and obscure termes therefore this Epigram implyeth thus much: That whiles Nero in the habit of Apollo plaieith upon the harpe, and would seeme to be a milde and gracious Prince: the Parthian King with bow and arrowes representing Apollo likewise, endaugered the Empire of Rome, and all, through the supine negligence of Nero geven to his Musick and other vanities excessively.

² This is ment by that huge house of Neroes building, and hath a reference to that desolate estate of Rome, when it was sacked and fyred by the French, after the imfortunate battaile of Allia, what time the Romaines were in consultation to abandon the Cittie and departe to Veii, there to inhabite.

³ It seemeth that Nero in his Poeme entituled *Troica*, had used to chaunt of Nauplius the father of Palamedes, who abid many calamities himselfe, and in revenge of his sonnes death, wrought much mischief to others. The Cynicke therefore, noteth Nero for his singing, as also for abusing his owne good parts in perpetrating all wickednesse, or else for mispending his treasure so dissolutely.

⁴ Which were very lascivious and licentious.

pater, Hugaine mater, i. Farewel father, Farewel mother, had acted the same so significantly, as that he feigned the one drinking and the other swimming, to expresse thereby the end of C. Claudius¹ and Agrippina:² and in the last conclusion of all, with these wordes,

Orcus vobis ducit pedes,
Now Pluto leadeth forth your feet,³

in plaine gesture noted the Senate. The Actor and Philosopher Nero did no more unto, but banish them Rome and Italie: either for that he set light by all shame and infamie; or els least in bewrying anie griefe, he might stir up and provoke pregnant wits to worke upon him.

Well, the world having indured such an Emperour as this, little lesse than 14 yeares, at length fell away and forsooke him cleane. And first the French began, following as the ringleader of their insurrection Julius Vindex, who that very time governed the Province [Gaule], as Propretour. Foretold it had been long agoe unto Nero by the Astrologers, That one day he should be left forlorne. Whereupon this saying [in Greek] was most rife in his mouth,

An Artizane of anie kinde
In every land will living finde,

so that he might the better be excused and borne withall for studying and practising the art of minstrelsie and singing to the harpe, as a skil delightful unto him now a Prince, and

¹ Whose son he was by adoption, for some report, he tooke his poison in a cup of drinke and not in a mushrom.

² Who was thought to have perished in the sea: and indeede she hardly escaped drowning by swimming.

³ By Orcus, or Pluto, taken for the God of Hell or the Grave, is understood death, in this place, readie to seize upon the Senatours, whose overthrow Nero had intended. Now, well knowne it is, that the manner was then, among the Romans, as at this day with us, to cary forth their dead with the feet forward.

needfull for him another day a private person. Yet some there were who promised unto him so forsaken, the government of the East parts: and others by speciall name the kingdome of Hierusalem: but most of them warranted him assuredly the restitution of his former estate. And being inclined rather to rest upon this hope, when he had lost Britaine and Armenia, and recovered them both againe: he thought himselfe discharged then and quit from the fatall calamities destined unto him. But sending one time to the Oracle of Apollo at Delphi, and hearing this answeare from thence, That hee must beware of the yeare 73, as who would say, He was to dye in that yeare (of his owne age) and not before; and divining no whit of Galbæs yeeres, with so assured confidence hee conceived in his heart not onely long life but also a perpetuall and singular felicity, that when he had lost by shipwracke things of exceeding price, he stucke not to say among his familiars: That the fishes would bring the same againe unto him.¹ At Naples advertised he was of the rebellion in Gaule. Which fell out to be the very same day of the yeare, on which he had killed his mother. But hee tooke this newes so patiently and carelesly, that he gave suspicion even of joy and contentment: as if occasion had beene offered and presented thereby to make spoyle (by the lawe of armes) of those most rich and wealthy Provinces: and streight waies going forth into the Gymnase, he beheld with exceeding great earnestnesse and delight the wrestlers and champions striving for the prise. At supper time also, being interrupted with letters importing more tumults and troubles still: thus farre forth onely he grew into choller and indignation, as that he threatned mischief to them who had revolted. To conclude, for eight dayes together he never went about to write backe unto any man nor to give any charge or direction at all, but buried the matter quite in silence.

At the last, throughly mooved and netled with the contumelious edicts of Vindex comming so thicke one in the

¹ As they did to Polycrates that mighty Tyrant of Samos: but it was not long before his fall and destruction.

necke of another, he exhorted the Senate, in a letter written unto them, to revenge him and the commonwealth: alleading for an excuse the Squinsie whereof hee was sicke: and therefore could not himselfe be present in person. But nothing vexed him so much as this, That hee was by him blamed for an unskilfull musician, and because in steede of Nero, he called him *Ænobarbus*.¹ And verely as touching this name appropriate to his house and family, wherewith he was thus in contumelious manner twitted, he professed to resume the same, and to lay away the other that came by adoption.² All other reviling taunts and slaunders hee confuted as meere false, by no other argument than this, That unskilfulnesse, forsooth, was objected unto him in that very art, which he had so painfully studied and brought to so good perfection: and therewith asked them eftsones one by one, whether they had ever knowen a more excellent Musician than himselfe. But when messengers came still one after another, in great feare he returned to Rome. And having his hart lightned but a little in the way, with a vaine and foolish presage by occasion that hee espied and observed engraven upon a monument, a certaine French souldiour with a Romane knight overmatched in fight and trailed along by the haire (of the head): he at this sight leapt for joy and worshipped the heavens. Neither then verely, did hee so much as consult in publike with the Senate, or assemble the people: but onely call forth home to his house some of the chiefe and principall persons among them. And having dispatched in great haste this consultation, the rest of that day he led them all about to his muscalle water instruments of a strange devise and fashion, not before knowen: and shewing every one by it selfe unto them, discoursing also of the reason and difficult workmanship of each one, he promised even anone to bringe them all forth into the open Theatre, if *Vindex* would give him leave.³

¹ Which was the name of his family, and so had he been called before his adoption.

² Nero Claudius Drusus.

³ Which it seems he spake ironically; if simply, he meaneth, in case *Vindex* interrupted not his sports and the publicke felicitie.

After that he understood besides, how Galba likewise and the provinces of Spaine were revolted, he fell downe at once: his heart was then daunted and cleane done: and so he lay a good while speechlesse in a traunce, and ready, as one would say, to goe out of the world. And so soone as he came againe to himselfe, he rent his clothes, beat and knockt his head, saying plainly, That he was utterly undone: yea and when his nource came about him to comfort his poore heart, telling him, that the like accidents had befallen to other princes also before him, hee answered againe, That hee above all the rest suffred miseries never heard of nor known before: thus in his life time to forgoe and loose his Empire. Neither yet for all this stricke he saile one whit in laying away or leaving out one jot of his ordinary riot and supine slouthfulnesse. Nay when some little inckling was given of good newes out of the provinces as he sat at a most sumptuous and plentifull supper: hee pronounced even with expresse gesture like a player, certaine ridiculous rimes, and those set to lascivious and wanton measures, against the chieftaines of rebellion: and what were those; even stale stuffe and commonly known already. Being also secretly conveied into the Theatre he sent word unto a certaine Player acting his part with great contentment of them that sawe and heard him, That he did but abuse his occupations.¹

Immediately upon the beginning of this feareful tumult,² it is credibly thought that he intended manie designes and those very cruell and horrible: yet such as agreed well enough with his naturall humour: namely, to sende under hand successours and murderers of all those that were Commanders of armies and regents of Provinces, as if they all had conspired and drawen in one and the selfe same line. Item, to massacre all banished persons where soever, and the Frenchmen every one that were to be found in Rome: those because

¹ In that hee plaid without a concurrent, whereas himself but for his Businesses would have put him down.

² Occasioned by the Commotions and revolts abroad.

they should not band and combine with them that revolted: these, as complices with their owne contrie men, and their abbetters. Item, to permit the armies for to make spoyle and havocke of the Provinces in Gaule. Item to poyson all the Senate generally at some appointed feast. Last of all to fire Rome and let wild beasts loose among the people, that thereby there might be more adoe and greater difficulty to save the Citie. But being skared from these designments, not so much upon anie repentance, as despaire of their accomplishment: and perswaded withall, that necessarie it was to make a voyage and warlike expedition; the Consuls then in place he deprived of their government before the due time, and himselfe alone entred upon the Consulship in their roomes, as if forsooth, the destinies had so ordained, that Gaule could not be subdued but by a (sole) Consul.¹ Having then taken into his hands the knitches of rods,² when after meat he withdrew himselfe aside out of his dining chamber, leaning upon the shoulders of his familiar friends, he protested, that so soone as ever he was come into the province: he would shew himselfe unarmed before the armies: and do nothing else but weepe: and after he had once by that meanes reclaimed the authors of the Revolt and brought them to repentance, sing merily, the day following, songs of triumph with them that rejoyced with him. 'Which songs,' quoth hee, 'ought with all speede even now to be composed for me.'

In the preparation of this warlike voiage, his speciall care was, to choose forth meete wagons for the cariage of his musicall instruments; to cut and poll the concubines which hee caried out with him like men: and to furnish them with battaile axes and little bucklers after the Amazonian fashion. This done, he cited the Citie-tribes to take the militarie oth: and when no serviceable men would answere to their names, he enjoyned all Masters to set forth a certaine number of bond-servants, neither admitted he out of the whole family

¹ As sometime Cn. Pompeius Magnus was, for the like exploit

² The Consular authoritie.

and household of every man, but such only as were most approved, excepting not so much as their stewards or clarkes and secretaries. He commanded likewise all degrees to allow and contribute towards this expedition part of their estate according as they were valued in the Censors booke: and more than so, the tenants inhabiting private messages and great houses standing by them selves, to pay out of hand in yearly pension to his exchequer. Hee exacted also with great skorne-fulnesse¹ and extremitie, good money rough and new coyned, silver fine and full of risings: golde pure and red as fire. In so much, as most men openly refused the paiement of all contributions: demanding in a generall consent, that what monies soever promoters had received for their informations, should rather be required backe againe at their hands.

By the dearth likewise of corne, looke what hatred was conceived against the gainers, the same grewe heavie upon him. For it fell out by chance that in this publicke famine word came of a Ship of Alexandria,² how it was arrived freight with a kinde of dust for the wrestlers of Nero his court. Having thus stirred up and kindled the hatred of all the world against him, there was no contumelious despite but he sustained. To one statue of his, just behind the crowne of the heade was set a chariot with an Imprese in Greeke to this effect, Now in truth, and not before is the combate. And againe, Now or never hale and drawe.³ To the necke of another, there was tyed a lether-bagge, and therewith this title, What could I doe?⁴ But thou hast deserved a verie lether budge⁵ indeed. This writing also was fastned upon the Columnes, Now with his chaunting hee hath awakened

¹ Surlinesse.

² [Whence corn was wont to come to Rome.]

³ In both which Empresses, by a most tart and bitter *Sarcasmus*, is taxed his excessive love of Charioting.

⁴ The speech of the people, or of his mother, who could not reclayme him.

⁵ As a Paricide or Killer of Parents, etc., whose judgement was to be sowed quicke within a lether budge, etc.

the French.¹ And by this time manie there were who in the night season making semblance of chiding and brawling with their servants, called often for a Vindex.²

Beside all this, he tooke affrights at the manifest portents as well newe as old, of dreams, of prodigies and of Osses. For where as before time, he was never wont to dreame, when he had mured his mother once there appeared visions in his sleepe, him thought hee saw the helme of a ship wrested out of his hand as hee steered it: and that by his wife Octavia hee was haled into a very narrow and blinde place: one while that he was covered all over with a multitude of winged ants; another while, that the images of brave men descended of noble houses dedicated to Pompeius Theatre, went round about him, and debarred him from going forward. Also, that his ambling guelding, wherein hee tooke most delight, was in most parts transfigured into the forme of an ape: but having his head only sound and entier, did set up a lowde and shrill voice neighing. Out of the Mausoleum,³ when all the dores thereof flewe of their owne accord open, a voice was heard calling him by name. Upon the Calends⁴ of Januarie, his domesticall gods, garnished and adorned (as they weare), at the verie time when the sacrifice was in preparing, fell all downe. And as he was observing the signes by bird flight, Sporus presented him with a ring for a newe yeares gift: in the pretious stones whereof, was engraven the ravishing and carying away of Proserpina. At the solemne nuncapation of his vows, when as a great and frequent number of all de-

¹ *Gallos* signifyeth both crowing cocks and the French, who began now to revolt as not able any longer to endure his songs: or that the French awakened him, to bestire himselfe and looke better about him: as if they were the Cockes indeed, to raise him out of his drowsie securitie.

² The ambiguitie of this word [Vindex], implieth both a private chastiser of servants for their faults, and also C. Julius Vindex, a revenger of publicke injuries, and a maintainer of the common libertie. Who now had taken Armes against Nero.

³ The stately sepulchre of Augustus,

⁴ New-yeares day.

grees were already assembled together, the keyes of the Capitoll could hardly be found. What time as out of his invective oration against Vindex these wordes were rehearsed in the Senate, That such wicked persons should suffer punishment, they all cryed out with one voice, *Tu facies Auguste, i.* Thou shalt so doe O Augustus. This also had beene observed, that the last Tragædie which he acted and sung in publike place, was *Ædipus the Banished*, and just as he pronounced this verse [in Greek],

How can I chuse but death desire,
Thus bidden by wife, by mother and sire?

he fell downe.

In this meane while, when newes came that all the other armies also rebelled, the letters delivered unto him, as hee sate at dinner hee tare in peeces, overthrewe the table, and two cuppes (of Chrystall) out of which he tooke the greatest pleasure to drinke, and which he called Homericos, for certaine verses of Homere¹ engraven and wrought upon them, he dashed against the paved floure. Then, after he had received a poison of Locusta and put it up in a golden boxe, he went directly into the hortyards of the *Servitii*: where, having sent before his most trusty freed-servants unto Ostia for to rig and prepare a fleet to sea, he sounded the Tribunes and Centurions of the guard, whether they would beare him company and flie with him, or no. But when some of them made it coy and kept some hafting: others in plaine termes refused; and one also cried out aloud,

Usque adeone mori miserum est?

What! is it such a miserie

To leave this life and so to die? ²

he cast about, and thought of many and sundry shifts. Whether hee should goe as an humble suppliant unto the Par-

¹ Alluding to that standing massie cup of Nestors, described by Homer in the eleventh of his *Ilias*.

² An halfe verse out of Virgil, 12 *Æneid*. The words of Turnus unto his sister Juturna.

thians or to Galba, or whether it were best for him, arraied all in blacke to come abroad into the Citie, and there in open place before the *Rostra*, with all the rufull and piteous moane that hee could possibly make, crave pardon for all that was past, and unlesse hee could turne the peoples harts unto mercy, make suite to have if it were but the Deputy-ship of Ægypt graunted unto him. Certes, found there was afterwards in his Cabinet a Speech of his owne penning, as touching this Argument. But men thinke hee was scared from this enterprise, as fearing least before he thither could come,¹ he should be pulled in peeces. Thus, putting off all farther cogitation of this matter unto the next day, and awakened about midnight; when he understood that the guard of his Souldiours was retired and gone, hee leapt forth of his bed, and sent all about to his friends. But because no word was brought back from any of them, himselfe accompanied with a fewe about him went to every one of their lodgings: where finding all dores shut, and no body to make him answere, he returned to his bed chamber. By which time, his Keepers also and Warders were slipt from thence: but they had stollen away first the hangings and furniture of his chamber, yea and set out of the way the box aforesaid with the poison. Then straightwaies he sought for Spicillus the Sword-fencer, or any other common hackster he cared not who, by whose hand he might receive his deaths wound. But finding none, 'Well,' quoth he, 'and have I neither a friend nor a foe?' And so he runnes forth, as if he would have throwne himselfe headlong into Tiberis.

But having reclaimed once againe that violent moode, hee desired some more secret retyring place, wherein he might lurke a while and recall his wits together. And when Phaon his freed man made offer unto him of a Farme house of his, that he had by the Citie side, about foure miles off, betweene the high-waies Salaria and Numentana, bare footed as hee was and in his shirt, hee cast over it a cloake all sullied and which had lost the colour. And so covering his head, and

¹ To the *Rostra*.

holding an hand kercheife before his face, to horseback hee went, having not above foure persons in his companie, of which Sporus made one.¹ And being by and by affrighted with an Earthquake and lightning that flashed against his face, he heard withall, as an out-crie and showt (from the Campe hard-by) of the Souldiours ossing all mischiefe at him and all good unto Galba: yea, and one of the passengers that he met, saying, These be they that pursue Nero, as also another asking, What newes in Rome of Nero? Now by occasion that his horse under him senting a dead carkasse that was throwne out in the way, started and flung at on side, his face was discovered, and himselfe knowne of one Missicius a Pretorian Souldiour, who saluted him by his name. When they were come to the next Lane, turning out of the Rodeway, their horses they forsooke and turned them up: and so among thickets of shrubs, rough bushes and briers, with much a-doe through a narrow path within a reed plot, and not without clothes² spread under foote, he gat at length as farre as to the wall of the Country house above said over and against him. There, when the said Phaon perswaded him to bestow himselfe the meane while, within a pit, from whence sand had been cast forth, 'Nay,' quoth he, 'I will never goe quick under ground': and so, after he had saied a little (while there was a secret way a making to let him into the ferme house), he laded up water with his owne hand out of a ditch under him, minding to drink: 'and this,' quoth he, 'is Neroes decocted water.'³ After this, because his cloake was torne among the bushes and briers aforesaid, he rid it from the prickly sprigs that were runne through and stuck therein, and so creeping upon all foure through a straight and narrow hole digged in the wall for him, received hee was into the next backe roome: where he laid him downe on a pallet made of a

¹ The reste were Phaon, Epaphroditus and Neophitus.

² For feare either of pricking his feete, or of being heard to goe.

³ Plinie reporteth, That Nero devised to seeth water first, then within a glasse to let it stand in snow, wherby it became exceeding cold: partly by the snow, and in part by the former decoction. A delicate drinke in the heate of Sommer.

simple scant mattrice, and an olde over-worne cloake cast over it for a coverlet. Now when hunger came upon him, and thirst with all the second time, the browne and course bread verily which was offred unto him he refused; but of warme water he dranke a prety draught.

When as each one called then instantly on every side upon him, to deliver him selfe with all speede from the reproachfull contumelies and abuses, whereto hee was hourelly subject, he commaunded a grave to be made before his face, and gave a measure therefore according to the just proportion of his body: and therewith, if any peeces of marble stone might be found about the house, to be laid in order: that water also and wood should bee gotten together for his dead body to be washed anone therewith: weeping at every word he spake, and inserting ever and anone this pittifull speech, *Qualis artifex Pereo!* What an excellent Artisane am I! and yet nowe must I die.¹ Whiles some stay was made about these complements, Phaons Courrier brought certaine letters which hee intercepted and snatcht out of his hands. And reading therein that hee had his Dome by the Senate, To be an Enemie to the State: That he was laid for all about to be punished, *More maiorum.*² '*More maiorum!*' quoth he, 'what kinde of punishment is that?' and when he understoode, it implied thus much, That the man so condemned, should be stript all naked, his head locked fast in a forke, and his body scourged with rods to death, he was so terrified therewith, that hee caught up two daggers which hee had brought with him: and trying the points of them both how sharpe they were, he put them up againe, making this excuse, That the fatall houre of his death was not yet come. And one while he exhorted Sporus to begin for to lament, weepe and waile: another while he intreated hard, That some one of them would kill him selfe first, and by his example helpe him to take his death.

¹ Meaning his singular skill in Musicke, for which pittie it was he should ever die, or else, What manner of artisane am I now become, thus to prepare mine owne funerall?

² [By the custom of the elders.]

Sometime also he checked and blamed his owne timorousnesse in these wordes, 'I live shamefully': and in reproach [in Greek], 'It becomes not Nero; it becomes him not. In such cases as these hee had neede to bee wise and sober: goe to man, plucke up thy heart and rouse thy selfe.' Nowe by this time approached the Horsemen neere at hand, who had a warrant and precept to bring him alive. Which when hee perceived, after hee had with trembling and quaking uttered this verse [in Greek],

The trampling noise of horses swift resoundeth in mine eares,¹

he set a dagger to his throat, whiles Epaphroditus his Secretarie lent him his hand to dispatch him. When he was yet but halfe dead, a Centurion brake in upon him, and putting his cloake upon the wound, made semblance as if hee came to aide and succour him: unto whom he answered nothing but this, 'Too late. And is this your loyaltie and allegiance?' In which very word he yeelded up his breath, with his eyes staring out and set in his head, to the great feare and horreur of all that were present. He had requested of the companie which attended upon him, no one thing more earnestly than this, That no man might have his head severed from the body, but that in any wise he might be burnt whole. And Icelus, a freed man of Galba, who not long before was delivered out of prison (into which he was cast [by Nero] at the beginning of the first tumult)² permitted so much.³

His funerals were performed with the charges of 200000 Sesterces: his corps was caried forth (to buriall) enwrapped within white cloathes of Tinsel, woven with gold wire betweene, the very same that hee had worne upon the Calends of Januarie. His reliques, Ecloge and Alexandra his two Nources, together with Acte his Concubine bestowed within the monument belonging to the house of the Domitii his

¹ Homer, *Iliad* x. spoken by Nestor.

² Occasioned by the rebellion in Gaule and Spaine.

³ For he might do all in al with Galba.

Auncestours: which is to be seene out of Mars field, situate upon the Knap of an hill within their Hortyards. In which Sepulcher his chest, made of Porphyrite Marble, with an Altar (as it were) or table of white Marble of Luna standing upon it, was enclosed round about with a fence of Thasian Marble stone.

Hee was for stature almost of complet heighth:¹ His body full of specks and freckles, and foule of skinne besides. The haire of his head somewhat yellow: his countenance and visage rather faire, than lovely and well favoured. His eyes gray and somewhat with the dimmest. His neck full and fat. His belly and paunch bearing out: with a paire of passing slender spindle shanks: but withall, he was very healthfull. For, being as he was so untemperate and most royotously given, in 14 yeeres space, he never fell sicke but thrice: yet so, as hee neither forbare drinking of wine, nor any thing else that hee used to doe. About the trimming of his body and wearing of his cloathes so nice, as it was shamefull: in so much as hee would alwaies have the bush of his head laide and plaited by curles in degrees: but what time as he travailed in Achaia, hee drew it backward also from the crowne of his head and wore it long.² For the most part, he ware a dainty and effeminate pied garment called Synthesis: and with a fine Lawne neck Kercheif bound about his neck he went abroad in the Streetes, ungirt, untrussed, and unshod.

Of all the Liberall Sciences in manner, he had a tast when he was but a child. But from the Studie of Philosophie his mother turned his minde; telling him, It was repugnant to one who another day was to bee a Sovereigne: and from the knowledge of auncient Oratours, his Maister Seneca withdrew him, because hee would hold him the longer in admiration of himselfe. And therefore, being of his owne accord readily enclined to Poetry, he made verses voluntarily

¹ Within a little of sixe foote.

² Haply in imitation of Apollo because there especially he professed Musick, whereof Apollo is the Patrone.

and without paine. Neither did he (as some think) set forth other mens Poems as his owne. There have come into mine hands writing tables and bookes containing verses very famous and well knowne abroade, written with his owne hand: so as a man may easily see they were not copied out of other bookes, nor yet taken from the mouth of any other that indited them, but plainely penned, as a man would say, by one that studied for them, and as they came in his head, so put them downe: so many blots and skrapings out, so many dashes and interlinings were in them.

No small delight he had beside in painting; and most of all in forging and moolding counterfaites. But above all, he was ravished and lifted up with popularity and praise of men: desirous therefore to imitate and equal them, who by any meanes pleased the humours and contented the minds of the common people. There went an opinion and speech of him, that after he had gained the Coronets for his musicall feats performed upon the stage, hee would at the next five yeares revolution, go unto the Olympicke games, and contend for the prise among the Champions there. For, he practised wrestling continually. Neither beheld he the Gymnicke games throughout all Greece otherwise, than sitting below within the Stadium, as the manner of the Judges and Umpires of such masteries: and if any paires of them drew to farre backe out of the appointed place, to plucke them with his own hands into the middle againe. He had intended moreover (since he was reputed to have equalled Apollo in singing and matched the Sun in charioting) to imitate also the worthie acts of Hercules. And men say, there was a Lion prepared, which he, all naked, should either with his club braine, or els with streight clasping beeweene his armes throttle and crush to death within the Amphitheatre, in the sight of all the people.

Certainely, a little before his ende he had openly made a vowe, That in case he continued stil in good and happie estate, represent he would likewise at the games, in his owne person after victory obtained, an Organist and player upon water

instruments, upon the flute also and hautbois, yea and a bag-piper, and on the last day (of the said games) an actor of Enterludes: what time he would daunce and gesture Turnus in Virgill. And some write, that Paris the actor was by him killed, as a concurrent that stood in his way and eclipsed his light.

A desire he had, (foolish and inconsiderate though it were) of æternity and perpetuall fame. And therefore, abolishing the old names of many things and places, hee did upon them new, after his owne. The moneth Aprill also hee called Neroneus. He ment moreover to have named Rome, Neropolis.

All Religions whersoever he had in contempt, unlesse it were that onely of the Syrian goddess.¹ And yet soone after he despised her so farre, that hee polluted her² with urine: by occasion that he was wonderfully addicted to an other superstition, wherein alone hee continued and persevered most constantly. For having received in free gift a little puppet representing a young girle, at the hands of a meane commoner and obscure person, as a remedy, forsooth, or defensative against al treacheries and secret practises: and thereupon straight waies chauncing to discover a conspiracie, he held it for the soveraine deity above all and persisted honoring and worshipping it every day with 3 sacrifices. Nay he would have men beleeve, that he foreknew things to come by advertisement and warning given from her. Some few moneths before he lost his life, he tooke regard also of the Skill in prying into beasts entrailes. Which he observed in deede, but never sped well therewith, nor gained thereby the favour of the Gods.

He died in the two and thirtieth yeere of his age [A.U.C. 821]; that very day of the yeere, on which in times past he had murdred his wife Octavia: and by his death brought so

¹ Atergate or Astarte; the same some think that Juno.

² Her image.

great joy unto the people generally, that the Commons wore Caps,¹ and ranne sporting up and downe throughout the Citie. Yet there wanted not some, who a long time after decked his Tombe with gay flowers that the Spring and Sommer doe affourd: and who, one while brought forth his Images clad in robes embroidred with purple gards before the *Rostra*: otherwhile published his Edicts, as if he had beene yet living and would shortly returne to the great mischiefe of his enemies. Moreover, Vologesus King of the Parthians, when he sent his Embassadours unto the Senate for to treat about the renuing of league and Alliance with them, requested this also very earnestly, That the Memoriall of Nero might be still solemnized. To conclude, when twenty yeeres after his decease (whiles I my selfe was but a young man) one arose among them (no man knew from whence, nor of what condition) who gave it out, That hee was Nero, (so gracious was his name among the Parthians,) he was mightily upheld and maintained, yea and hardly delivered up againe.²

¹ [Liberty caps], to testifie freedome recovered.

² Namely, to Calphurnius Asprenas, to be executed for a lying counterfeit.

THE LATIN ANTHOLOGY

SELECTIONS
FROM THE
MINOR LATIN POETS

RENDERED INTO ENGLISH VERSE BY
SIR CHARLES ABRAHAM ELTON

WITH CRITICAL BIOGRAPHIES
BY THE SAME

THE LATIN ANTHOLOGY

GALLUS

[B.C. 67]

CORNELIUS GALLUS was born at Forum Julium, a town of Narbonensian Gaul; now Fréjus in Provence. He was distinguished by the favour of Augustus; and, after the death of Antony and Cleopatra, was made governor of Ægypt; but was accused of malversation in his office, and implicated in a charge of conspiracy: and was in consequence outlawed, and his estate confiscated. This disgrace so affected him, that he put an end to his existence in the forty-third year of his age: five years before the death of Virgil, or B.C. 24. The common chronology, which places the death of Gallus, A.D. 26, is directly contradictory to historical fact: as Gallus is thus made to survive Augustus, who died A.D. 14.

Gallus was in equal esteem as a soldier, an orator, and a poet. He was the author of Love Elegies, addressed to Cytheris, a freed-woman of Volumnius, under the fictitious name of Lycoris. This mistress proved faithless, and forsook him for some person in the suite of Antony: a circumstance delicately touched by Virgil in his tenth Eclogue. It is said that the fourth Georgic originally ended with a panegyric on Gallus; but that Virgil struck it out at the intimation of Augustus, and substituted the episode of Aristæus.

Quintilian classes Gallus after Tibullus and Propertius. There are no authentic remains of him. The elegies ascribed to him are clumsy forgeries. Why Gallus, who died in the prime of life, should affect the character of a superannuated debauchee, it is not easy to say. They are imputed to an obscure poetaster of the name of Maximian. The fragments found at Venice, by Aldus Manutius, are pronounced by Joseph Scaliger to be equally spurious. The Latinity of the delicate little ode to Lydia, however elegant, betrays something of a modern cast. It resembles the modern Latin poems of Johannes Secundus.

LOVE ODE

LYDIA! girl of prettiest mien,
And fairest skin, that e'er were seen:
Lilies, cream, thy cheeks disclose;
The ruddy and the milky rose;
Smooth thy limbs as ivory shine,
Burnished from the Indic mine.
Oh sweet girl! those ringlets spread,
Long and loose, from all thy head;
Glistening like gold in yellow light
O'er thy falling shoulders white.
Show, sweet girl! thy starry eyes,
And black-bent brows that arching rise:
Show, sweet girl! thy rose-bloom cheeks,
Which Tyre's vermillion scarlet streaks:
Drop those pouting lips to mine,
Those ripe, those coral lips of thine.
Give me, soft, a velvet kiss
Dovellike glued in searching bliss:
You suck my breath! oh Heaven! remove
Your lips—I faint—my sweetest love!
Your kisses—hold! they pierce my heart:
I feel thee in each vital part:
Hold—thou wicked creature! why
Suck my life's blood, thus cruelly?
Hide those breasts, that rise and fall,
Those twinned apples, round and small;
Full with balmy juices flowing,
Now just budding, heaving, growing;
Breathing from their broadened zone
Opening sweets of cinnamon.
Delicacies round thee rise:
Hide those globes—they wound mine eyes
With their white and dazzling glow,
With their luxury of snow!
Cruel! see you not I languish,
Thrilling with ecstatic anguish!
Do you leave me; leave me lying,
Almost fainting, almost dying?

ALBINOVANUS

[B.C. 35]

CAIUS PEDO ALBINOVANUS was intimate with Ovid; who addresses to him an epistle from Pontus. He was an epic poet, and wrote *The Theseid*; on the exploits of Theseus. He was, besides, reputed an elegant epigrammatist and fabulist. The elegies, which have come down to us, are sometimes erroneously considered as the productions of Celsus Albinovanus, to whom Horace inscribes one of his epistles.

It is unfortunate that we are very incompetent judges of the merit of Albinovanus. Seneca has indeed preserved a bold and poetical fragment on the passage of Drusus Germanicus down the Ems, into the Northern ocean, which Tacitus has described in his peculiar strong manner: *Annal.* ii. 23: and his poems on the death of Drusus Nero Claudius, one of the two sons of Livia Augusta, already mentioned by the title of Germanicus; and on that of Mæcenas, are terse, classical, and ingenious. But they are, from their very nature, uninteresting. The dullest of all possible compositions is funeral elegy; where the grief does not spring from a personal interest, but is put on like a suit of court mourning; and the poet, in default of pathos, is driven to the expedient of being witty. It could yield but cold comfort to Livia, to be told that we all must die; and that Thetis also lost a son.

PASSAGE OF GERMANICUS

LONG have they left the sun's bright orb behind,
Exiled from earth's last bounds, they tempt the wind:
Dare through forbidden glooms to guide their prores,
And touch the western goal, and farthest shores.
Sudden they launch amidst that frozen deep,
Which ocean's monster brood, unwieldy, sweep;
Fierce whales there wallowing roll; sea-wolves emerge,
Mount the seized deck, and cling from every surge.
The crash of ice accumulates their dread,
And grounded keel; the depth of waters fled;

They deem, abandoned in an evil hour,
 The sea's wild monsters shall their limbs devour.
 One on the towering prow, far-gazing, stands,
 And beats the vapours with his striving hands;
 No sight discerned, the world is snatched away:
 Faint from obstructed breast, his words their sounds essay:
 "Ah! whither are we borne?" the rushing light
 Sinks, and the shadows of eternal night
 Rest on these boundaries of Nature's reign:
 An earth forsaken, and a desert main,
 Explore we tribes, that breathe another pole?
 Realms, uninscribed in Time's historic roll?
 Gods warn us back; for not to mortal eyes
 May these dark limits of existence rise.
 Why burst our oars on these forbidden deeps,
 Where many a God in sacred silence sleeps?

CORNELIUS SEVERUS

[B.C. 24]

PUBLIUS CORNELIUS SEVERUS is addressed by Ovid, in one of his epistles from Pontus, by the title of "Greatest Poet of Mighty Kings:" alluding, probably, to the subjects of his tragedies and heroic poems; though some have understood it to mean, by somewhat of a forced hyperbole, that he was a favourite of the court. The compliment of Ovid,

Fertile thy breast; and none, who till the steep
 Of Helicon, a richer harvest reap,

is sanctioned by the opinion of Quintilian, who gives high praise to an unfinished poem of Severus on the Sicilian War, between Augustus and Sextus Pompey; and observes that an untimely death prevented his attaining the rank which his youthful genius appeared to promise.

The fragment on the death of Cicero contains obvious sentiments, expressed with classical purity of style.

PROSCRIPTION OF CICERO

From a lost Poem on the Civil Wars

THE breathing visages of high-souled men
On their own rostrums hung: but, singly, there
The murdered Cicero's features, 'midst the rest,
Caught every eye. Then, to their thoughts return
The Consul's mighty acts; the knitted hands
Of foul conspirators; detected leagues
Of guilt, and dark patrician infamy.
Then is Cethegus' punishment alive
Before them; and the fall of Catiline
From his atrocious hope to every breast
Returns. Ah! what availed the public breath
Of favour, and the assembled people's shout?
And years all full of honours? What availed
An age expended in the sacred arts
Of learning, and philosophy? one day
Has snatched the glory of the citizen:
The tongue of Latian eloquence is mute;
Grief-smitten. He, of anxious Romans, erst,
The guard and safety; he, his country's head;
The Senate's champion; he, the public voice
Of right and law; the forum's oracle,
And organ of the gown; is silent now:
Now dumb for ever through the assassin's steel.
Those features now convulsed; that hoary hair
Dashed impiously with blood; those sacred hands,
That wrought such mighty deeds, now spurned beneath
A Roman's haughty feet, and trampled on
In triumph: nor his eyes reverted mark
Fate's slippery turns, nor heed the observant Gods.
No time can wash Antonius' guilt away.
Not such revenge humaner victory wreaked
On Macedonian Perses; nor on thee,
Dread Syphax; nor on royal Philip's head;
Not such indignities Jugurtha took
Though led in triumph; nor stern Hannibal
Who fell before our wrath. His body, safe
From insult, found a refuge in the grave.

GRATIUS

[AGE OF AUGUSTUS]

OF Gratius Faliscus nothing more is known than that he was contemporary with Ovid, who alludes to his poem on Hunting, in the Elegies from Pontus:

Gratius the hunter's dexterous arms supplied.

Only fragments of his poems remain: His style is somewhat dry and technical, and often obscure; it possesses the merit of didactic brevity, but wants the flowing elegance of Nemesian, who, though perhaps a less original, is a more clear and graceful writer. Gratius has still fewer pretensions to the splendid imagination and the almost epic dignity of Oppian.

VARIETIES OF HOUNDS

From the Cynegetics

Dogs claim the highest place, the chiefest share
Of these thy arts, and this thy woodland care,
Whether in open war thou press thy foes,
Or wiles of stealing stratagem oppose.
A thousand soils are native to the hound,
And qualities of various strain abound.
The untoward Mede yet fierce the game essays,
The Celt from different clime divides the praise.
Scythians, declining war, sagacious ply,
And Persians hunt the prey, aloof, or nigh.
Some Indians rear, an eager headstrong race;
Others, Arcadians, mild, yet staunch in chase.
The Hyrcanian scorns his native boiling blood,
And courts a fiercer seed in savage wood.
The woodland Venus smooths the rough access,
And joins in gentle bond each strange caress.
To fell adulterer of the forest comes,
And through the peaceful kennel grimly roams.
The female hound the tiger's rush sustains,
And draws her breed from more impetuous veins.

The impatient whelp shall round his kennel bay,
And even the flock shall fall his bleeding prey:
So let him glut: these crimes of home-shed blood
Are shaken off in combats of the wood.

The Umbrian springs the game, but turns to fly;
Would but his courage with his instinct vie!—

What if we cross the tides, that reflux roar
'Twixt Belgic Gaul and Britain's nearest shore?

Oh what sure gain shall this our cost repay?

Unless the hue and shape thine eye delay:

Fallacious both; for here the Briton fails;

But in the tug of war, where strength avails,

Molossian mastiffs he shall far transcend,

Though, in close wiles, Epirus' dogs contend.

Their country's mode the Acarnanians know,

And steal from silent ambush on the foe.

The Ætolian rouses up the boar, ere near:

A blundering vice, and yells through rage or fear:

Yet scorn not in the arts of chase the breed:

Wonderous their patient strength, their scent, their speed.

I then would mix the breeds: a quickened sense

Will Umbrian mothers to rash Gauls dispense:

Gelonian females from the Hyrcanian sire

Derive a portion of his daring fire.

The Ætolian females lose the babbling tongue

When from Molossian sires they teem with young.

Of every virtue thus they cull the flower;

And nature favours in the genial hour.

But, if a lighter pastime be thy care;

To chase the deer, or track the doubling hare:

The Flandrian hound is famed as fleet and true;

And Gallic brach, of gray and changing hue

Swift as the wing, or thought itself, she flies,

Hunts the roused game, but scents not where it lies.

In scent and chase the Flandrians glory gain;

Could they the covert track with silent train,

And, while in full of sport they press the prey,

Disguise their joy, nor give their clamours way:

All qualities, the wild-cross breed may claim,

Would then be theirs: their spirit foils their aim.

No worthless race, no vulgar country blends

To cross the Lybian breed; for Sparta sends

Her pack, and Crete her strain commixing lends.
Hagnon, the son of Æstylus, first bound
With a loose leathern slip the high-necked hound:
Bœotian Hagnon: whose peculiar name
In this our craft attested lives to fame.
While the new art yet scarce attempted lay,
Wavering unfixed, he found the nearer way:
Nor with him drew a motley crowd along,
Nor nets, far-reaching the wild brakes among:
His only guard and hope of Lybian breed
Tracks the known haunts through thicket, brook, and mead;
Task of pale dawn: then fresh he scents the trail;
Or, if confused the vapours taint the gale,
Hangs at a fault, and courses round and round
Till of his game the single scent is found.
Thus the clear egress from the covert traced,
He springs upon the track in lengthening haste:
As round Achaia's circus whirls the steed,
Proud of his blood, and panting for the meed.
But, lest his forward eagerness prove vain,
The thong's firm law his ardour must restrain.
Lest with his yelping tongue he rouse the prey,
Or new temptations lure him from his way
With pledge of easier game: and, turned aside,
He mar the scent, which first his nostril tried.
If better fortune guide his staunch career,
His toil well-spent, the winded covert near,
Then, that the hunter might observant know,
From speaking signs, the couched, detected foe;
His full joy quivers in his flickering tail,
He digs, and champs the ground, and snuffs the gale.
But, lest the pledge deceive his foremost haste,
The briar-set circuit by his foot is traced:
The double passage tried, through which the prey
Or enters in his couch, or starts away.
If the first hope, though rarely fruitless, fail,
Alive he flings upon a happier trail:
Retreads his former steps with rallying spring,
'And courses round in an unbeaten ring.
Then, when full conquest with its end is crowned,
Divide the spoil with thy companion hound.
His well-trained nose has merited the fee:

The task shall thus its own incentive be:
This, Hagnon! is thy meed, the Gods thus favour thee
And thou shalt ever live, while lasts my strain,
Or woodland gifts, and Dian's arms remain.
He, too, the wolf-hounds formed, half-wild of breed,
Whom none in instinct and in strength exceed:
Whether they open shrill with warning cry,
Or, scorning ambush, dare the combat nigh.
With lions matched their wiles have won renown,
And with their dwarfish legs they tear them down.
For small the race, deformity their shame,
Of fox-like shape, but faithful to their aim.
For such emprise thou wouldst no other breed,
Nor shall the chase convict thy careless heed;
Nor thou the loss of disappointment find,
While prudence comes too late, and halts behind.

Join them of equal age: the breed design
By the sure pledge of their illustrious line.
Let the cross whelp, though wild, of form uncouth,
Show that his parents burned with vigorous youth.
First is the dog for generous instinct joined:
Next for the goodly structure of the kind;
Lest the degenerate breed its race belie,
And differing whelps abate their quality.
High let the genuine hound his forehead rear;
Shagged on his head should stand each bristling ear,
His mouth stretched wide; his gaping jaws exhale
Their agitating fires in smoking gale:
Concave his belly, and his loins comprest;
Short-tailed, long-sided; let the hair invest
His neck in parted curl; not lengthening rolled
In tufts, nor thinly sensitive of cold.
From nervous shoulders let the breast swell high,
His roomy chest his labouring lungs supply.

Avoid the hound who treads with broadened feet,
That soft and sore of touch the thickets beat.
Hard shanks and sinewy thighs must brave the field,
And solid claws these hardy contests wield.

But vain will all thy training labours prove,
Unless, deep-hidden in some dark alcove,
The chambered female yield to one alone;
Nor, in love's season, have adulterers known;

But make the praise of chastity her own.
Sweetest the rapture of a first embrace;
Impatient Nature fires the infuriate race.
When now the future mother has declined
All strange intruders, nor to all been kind,
Let her, while pregnant, rest: her service spare:
Scarce can she now her growing burthen bear:
I then advise, lest her unruly brood
Fatigue the mother, while they drain their food;
Assay the litter by some certain test,
And pick the bad of structure from the rest.
Their own sure marks will point thy judging eye:
The whelp, that shall for woodland honours vie,
Throws loose his tender limbs, in uncouth mould;
Scorns with the brother whelps his lot to hold;
Asserts the mother realm; usurps the teat;
And frees his back in noon's relaxing heat.
But passive in the cool of evening skies
Beneath the encumbering whelps he buried lies.
Lift in thy poising hands his future might;
And be his brothers in the balance light:
The pledge shall not deceive thee, nor the signs
With false prediction shall disgrace my lines.

Straight let the female hound parturient share
A softer nurture, more obsequious care.
She, duly carried to her whelps, will heed
Her charge, and long bestow the help they need.
But, when the suckling hound her office fails,
And o'er the mother's cares the chase prevails;
Nourish the whelps with mess of milk and bread;
Not with the cost of eager luxury fed.
Thy pampering kindness to thy loss redounds:
No worse excess, uncurbed by temperate bounds,
Does on the human sense insidious prey
And eat the finer faculties away.
Let reason raise betimes the opposing hand,
And luxury's soft encroaching vice withstand:
By this, their bane, the kings of Ægypt sank,
Who Marea's wines in concave jewels drank;
And reaped from Ganges' banks the breathing spice,
Minions of sloth, and cup-bearers of vice.

MANILIUS

[AGE OF AUGUSTUS]

OF Caius, or Marcus, Manilius, Manlius, or Mallius, for the name is differently spelt in different copies, we know nothing, but from the internal evidence of his work. The dedication of his *Astronomica* to Augustus fixes his period. Indeed, the poem agrees in many particulars with the ancient celestial globe, found in the ruins of Rome, and deposited in the Farnese palace.

Some have thought Manilius to be the same with Manilius of Antioch, the astronomer; whom Pliny mentions as being brought captive to Rome, with his feet chalked, like those of a slave when exposed to sale. But the Manilius of Antioch was brought to Rome in the time of Sylla, ninety-five years before the death of Augustus.

Pliny speaks of another Manilius, or Manlius, a mathematician; who invented a zodiacal sun-dial in the form of a golden ball; which was placed, by order of Augustus, on the top of an obelisk. That this might have been the author of "The Rotundity of the Earth" is not improbable.

The poem was discovered in a German monastery, some time in the fifteenth century, by the learned Poggio Bracciolini, who was engaged by some cardinals of Rome in the search of ancient authors, and who also brought to light Lucretius, and Quintilian. It has not only suffered from the mutilations of age or accident, but was probably left imperfect by the author: as a sixth book, on the planetary system, seems to have been contemplated. The deficiency has been supplied by Julius Firmicus, a Christian Latin poet, of the age of Constantine.

The style of Manilius is frequently barbarous; and though Ovid may support him in his sparkling antithetical conceits, his language has not the cast of elegant Latinity. His phraseology is often obscure and forced, when there is no excuse from the technical nature of the subject. Indeed his astronomical descriptions are usually clear and graphical. With all its faults, and notwithstanding the occasional turgid glit-

ter, and ambitious point of sentiment, the poem has very uncommon merit. The physical part is luminous, and the philosophy frequently sublime. He adopts the Ptolemaic hypothesis, that the earth is suspended immovably in the centre of the universe; but his general notions of the nature and position of the stars are consistent with astronomical science; and he supposes with the Pythagoreans that the phenomenon of the milky way is produced by a crowded circle of stars: a conjecture which the telescopes of Galilæo have improved to demonstration. The system of Manilius is interwoven with the stellar fatality of the Stoics; and his work contains a complete scheme of the ancient astrology.

ROTUNDITY OF THE EARTH

From the Astronomics

BE not amazed that earth's machine suspend
 Its buoyant mass, but let thy gaze ascend,
 Where hangs the firmament itself on high,
 And, baseless, rolls upon vacuity.
 This from the movements of its orbs appears,
 And flying course of those revolving spheres.
 Suspended glides the sun, and winds around
 Each tropic goal, in ether's blue profound:
 Through heaven's clear void the stars and moon are hurled;
 The same aërial law suspends the world.
 Earth scoops in middle air its concave place;
 Poised, equi-distant, on the abyss of space:
 Not stretched a plain, but rounded in a ball,
 It swells and sinks with equal rise and fall.
 'Tis thus terrestrial nature fills the gaze,
 And thus the firmament its forms displays.
 The stars, the sun, presenting, as they fly
 Through fields of space, a smooth convexity.
 Globose the moon's dense body strikes the sight,
 And courts with gradual swell the partial light;
 For not a globe's whole mass receives entire
 The rays oblique of that reflected fire.
 A form eternal to the world is given;
 The solemn image of the Gods in heaven;

Which no beginning saw, nor end shall see;
Each part a whole, and one the vast rotundity.
Thus stars and sky are rounded in a sphere;
Nor all the signs o'er all the earth appear.
Not till the seas be crost, and Nile afar
His coasts discloses, shines Canopus' star:
And they, the dwellers on the opposing shore
On whom he shines, in vain the Bear explore:
The intermediate globe's projections rise,
Snatch heaven from earth, and bound the excluded eyes.
Witness thou, Moon! to Earth's convexing swell
When'er in dun eclipse thy planet fell,
Not all the nations saw thy light decreast,
But first it faded on the distant east.
The regions, stretched beneath the midmost sky,
The west beheld thy wings discoloured fly:
And where the extremities of earth arose
Thy cymbals clashed to aid thy labouring throes.
Were earth a plain, thy stricken orb would show
Its useful shade to all the world below.
But, since the earth declines into a sphere,
The planet must by slow degrees appear:
Rising, or falling, in an orb it sweeps
O'er sinking hollows and ascending steep:
Surmounts receding circles in its flight,
And marks earth's rounded outline to the sight.
Man's various tribes the round terrestrial share,
The woodland beasts, and hovering birds of air;
In part the peopled convex northward tends;
In part to climates of the south descends:
Beneath our feet in opposition lies,
And overtops itself in long declivities.
With self-eluding surface swells the ball,
With equal rising, and with equal fall.
Here, from his east the Sun advancing shines,
And towards our west with slanting glance declines:
There, slumbering cities feel the rising ray,
And stated toils return with bounteous day;
While we, in shade of night, our limbs reposing lay.
The common ocean circumfused appears,
And their own waters bind the parted hemispheres.

This frame of vast and complicated mould;
 This boundless system on its centre rolled;
 These parts that, differing all, yet all agree,
 Of air, and fire, and earth, and spreading sea;
 A soul divine informs with quickening force;
 A God around it winds his sacred course.
 By silent instinct bids the fabric roll,
 Disposes all, and leagues it in a whole;
 The alternate parts and powers connected run,
 And, various in its forms, the world is one.

ON FATE

From the Astronomics

WHY waste we life in busy anxious years,
 Tortured by blind desires, and feverish fears?
 In care's eternal round grow old in vain,
 And lose the stealing time we seek to gain:
 Still foiled in hope, trust future years will give
 The wish, and in that life forget to live?
 While each, still poorer, as he sighs for more,
 Hopes distant gain, nor counts his present store;
 When Nature's uses and demands are small;
 And wishes build us up a heavier fall:
 Our gains buy luxury; luxury rapine buys;
 And wealth's reward in wealth's profusion lies.
 Oh mortals! ease your troubles; cease to grieve;
 Of all superfluous complaints your souls relieve.
 Fates rule the globe; fixed laws the world control;
 And marked by sure events the ages roll.
 While born, we die: the hour that gave us breath
 Linked to our end; our birth entwined with death.
 From that nativity predestined flow
 Wealth, empire, want: hence arts and manners grow;
 Crimes, slaughter, losses, gains, their chequered changes show.
 None e'er can turn calamity aside,
 None reach the bliss his horoscope denied.
 None clasp reluctant Fortune, nor withstand
 The lavish bounty of her urgent hand;
 But each must bear his lot, and bow to Fate's command.
 Say, did not Fate of life and death dispose,
 Had brave Æneas rushed through flames and foes?

HORATIUS AT THE BRIDGE

From a painting by Vincenzio Camuccini

"SAY, DID NOT FATE OF LIFE AND DEATH DISPOSE . . .
HAD COCLES, WITH HIS SWORD AND SHIELD ALONE,
BEFORE THE TOWN AND BRIDGE A RAMPIRE THROWN?
. ON SINGLE LANCE
ROME HUNG; THE WORLD WAS STAKED UPON THE CHANCE."

—Manilius, "On Fate," page 376.



When his sole arm sustained Troy's tottering power,
That rose triumphant from the fatal hour?
Had that she-wolf of Mars within the wood,
Reared the twin-babes, exposed upon the flood?
Whence Rome created sprang; and herdsmen spread
O'er Capitolian hills the reed-thatched shed?
Had the round universe in prostrate awe
From conquered Troy received a conqueror's law?
Had Mutius e'er to Rome returned, whose wound
In willing blood the flaming altar drowned?
Had Cocles, with his sword and shield alone,
Before the town and bridge a rampire thrown?
Had Clelia broke the compact with the foe,
Or had one warrior laid three brethren low?
No host e'er triumphed thus: on single lance
Rome hung; the world was staked upon the chance.

Why tell of Cannæ, and of arms whose clang
Near Rome's invaded walls approaching rang?
Of Varro great, since scorning to despair,
And sorely loath to breathe the vital air,
When Thrasymene's lake had seen him fly;
Of Fabius, wise in lingering victory?
Of Carthage, bowed beneath the yoke of Rome,
And Hannibal, escaped yet overcome?
Foiling our chains, yet in a barbarous clime
By stealthy death atoning every crime?

Add Italy, that with the Roman sword
Her own distorted limbs unnatural gored:
The Cimbrian stretched by Marius on the plain,
And Marius prostrate in his dungeon's chain:
Now consul; exile now; in silence lone
Midst Lybia's ruins, a like ruin, thrown:
He, while the mouldering pillar's base he pressed,
Fallen Carthage in stern majesty possessed.
Not such a doom, oh Fortune! flowed from thee;
But Fate had stamped the unchangeable decree.

And who, oh great Pompeius! could believe
That Nile should on his shores thy corse receive;
When Mithridates' hosts had bit the plain,
And thy flag waved o'er the recovered main?
When in thy wide career the world around,
Thy brow three triumphs with their laurels bound:

When now to thy parental conscious eyes
Thou sawest a second great Pompeius rise:
Who could believe that, for thy funeral pyre,
A shattered wreck would yield its smouldering fire?
What Power could change this majesty of state?
What, but the ruling deity of Fate?

He, too, that drew from Heaven his glorious strain,
Now in that kindred Heaven received again;
When civil war had stooped to his renown,
And law succeeded in the peaceful gown;
Scaped not the wounds, predicted oft in vain,
Sudden before the gazing senate slain;
Grasping the warning scroll, unconscious stood,
And blotted every guilty name with blood:
Thus perished, in his strength, the stay of Rome,
Falsely secure that Fate might overcome.

Why speak of ruined cities, kings uncrowned,
Of Cræsus living on his death-pile bound;
Priam, a headless trunk upon the plain;
While for his pyre all Ilium blazed in vain?
Why tell of Xerxes, whose vast wreck o'erswelled
The lessened flood that scarce the ruin held?
Why name the king, that o'er the Romans reigns,
A female captive's blood within his veins?
Or the bold pontiff who, with grasp divine,
Snatched Vesta's fires from fires that wrapped the shrine;
While yielding flames roll'd back their tapering spires,
And shunned the man that bore the sacred fires?

What sudden deaths invade the strongest frames!
What deaths elude themselves, and stray through flames!
How many, risen from graves, themselves survive;
Some double-lived; some dead, while scarce alive!
The light distemper kills; the heavy spares;
Art, reason foiled: the wise physician's cares
Are baneful; and neglect the patient aids:
Now, from the same neglect, disease invades:
Salubrious food the seeds of death contains,
And poisons glide innoxious through the veins.

Sons now degenerate from their fathers' fame;
And now transcend the obscure ancestral name;
With mind and manners of their own impressed;
O'erlooked by fortune, and again caressed:

One, fired by Love, shall sail athwart the main,
And lay a Troy in ruins on the plain:
A lot of peaceful fame another draws;
And his sage pen inscribes his country's laws:
The son the sire destroys; the sire the son;
And brothers armed to kindred carnage run:
Not ours the war; controlled the events succeed;
Perforce they rue their crimes; perforce they bleed.

Not in each age Camilli, Decii, rise,
Nor conqueror over death, a Cato dies.
Not yet extirpated is glory's root:
But Fate still blasts the blossoms as they shoot.

Not shortened is the poor man's mortal date;
Nor wealth can bribe the death foredoomed by Fate.
Fortune from sceptres proud extorts the doom
That turns the regal pomp to funeral gloom,
Builds up the prince's pyre, and digs his tomb.
What might is this! what majesty of sway!
When princes tremble, and when kings obey!

See virtue wretched; guilt successful rise;
Prudence deceive; and rashness win the prize.
Nor Fortune bids the effect the cause succeed,
Nor yields success to the deserving deed;
But wanders, undistinguishing and blind,
Light and capricious as the veering wind.

Some ruling power our wills and natures draws,
That binds creation by peculiar laws;
That from itself, when dawns our natal day,
Assigns our years, and Fortune's chequered sway.

This blends the human and the bestial frame:
No monstrous birth from seeds of nature came:
What common law can man and beast unite?
Or when did monsters crown the adulterous night?
The Heaven's configurations cross the birth:
The stars with strange creations scare the earth.

If Fate be not, why rolls its ordered train,
When fixed events are sung in star-predicted strain?

Nor does my scheme defend the guilty deed;
Nor virtue is defrauded of her meed.
Not less we loathe the dark herb's deathly fruit;
From no free will produced, but certain root:
Nor less delicious the sweet food of earth,

Though nature, not our pleasure, caused the birth.
 The greater glory hath the human mind,
 Born when the aspects of the Heavens were kind;
 And those, which stars of face malign create
 To rue their crimes, attract the deeper hate.
 Imports not whence the crime detested came;
 Confessed alike its nature and its name.

PHÆDRUS

[AGE OF TIBERIUS]

PHÆDRUS was a Thracian, and a freedman of Augustus. He is supposed to have been made captive, at the time of the defeat of the Thracians, by Octavius, the father of Augustus, during his command as prætor in Macedonia. Phædrus appears to have written his fables under Tiberius; and to have been the object of persecution to his infamous minister, Sejanus.

The manuscript of Phædrus was discovered by Peter Pithou in the sixteenth century, in the library of St. Remi, at Rheims. The fables have been justly considered as models, in the easy naturalness of their simplicity. They are without smart studied point, but are tersely written, and elegantly sententious. Johnson has, however, justly observed, in his life of Gay, that Phædrus confounds the *fable* and the *tale*.

THE BUFFOON AND THE RUSTIC

WHILE men let partial favour sway,
 No wonder that they go astray.
 When error stands in judgment's place,
 'Tis plain, repentance brings disgrace.

A nobleman to public games
 Invites the town, the prizes names;
 That each might do his best, and vie
 In some amusing novelty.
 Among the player crowd, that came
 Eager to win the palm of fame,
 A mimic, sharp and shrewd of wit,
 Professed to entertain the pit,

With something which, he would engage,
Was new as yet to any stage.
The rumour flies, the city flows,
The theatre's late empty rows
Are crowded full; while, jammed without,
Press still a disappointed rout.
Forth on the stage he steps alone,
With no assistance; nothing shown
In scenic pomp of preparation:
Deep silence grows from expectation.
He suddenly with head deprest
To the loose cloak, that wraps his breast,
His imitative accent tries,
Like a young pig in squeaking cries.
All shout, the pig is folded there,
And bid him shake the cloak in air:
When nothing's found, the mimic draws
Repeated thunders of applause.
A rustic saw; "Good sooth," said he,
"This squeaker is no match for me."
And straight professed, still more complete,
On the next day to show the feat.
Crowds upon crowds: they biassed sit,
Not to look on, but sport their wit,
And flout the clown: at once the two
Stand on the stage in public view.
The mimic first his gruntings tries,
And shouts and bravoës clamouring rise.
The rustic then made feign to hold
A pig within his garment's fold
(And so he did, but unsuspected
Since none had been before detected,)
And pinched the skulking porker's ear,
Whose natural treble echoed clear
The squeak of pain: the crowd began,
"The player is the better man;"
And, bellowing in derisive rage,
They hoot the rustic off the stage.
He, unconcerned, proceeds to give
The naked proof demonstrative;
The pig produces, as his case,
And shows their error and disgrace;

"Look, Sirs! this pig, whom you deride,
Shows how your wits are qualified."

And I might still prolong the tale,
Nor yet the copious theme would fail;
But moderate sallies surest please,
And wit offends that passes these.
Particulo! whose reverend name
In this my page shall live to fame;
While men its meed to glory give,
And bid the Latian letters live;
If not my genius win your love,
At least, my brevity approve;
For so much more of praise I claim,
'As poets have a tedious name.

CALPURNIUS

[FIRST CENTURY, A. D.]

TITUS CALPURNIUS (called SICULUS), a Latin poet, a native of Sicily, lived during the first century of our era, under the emperor Nero.

The Eclogues of Calpurnius are partly political, partly fanciful, in the manner of Virgil. The style is classical; the imagery has occasionally much of picturesqueness and originality; and there is an air of natural rusticity in the manners. In the time of Charlemagne these pieces were placed in the hands of young scholars. Besides these poems there exists a poetical panegyric, *De Laude Pisonis* (In Praise of Piso), which is now generally attributed to Calpurnius.

THE QUARREL

ASTYLUS.

HA! Lycidas, you're late: beneath this shade
Alcon the boy, and Nyctilus have played:
I sate as umpire, and the prize was named:
Kids and the mother goat the one proclaimed,
The other staked a hound the conqueror's meed,
And swore the whelp was half of lion-breed;
But Alcon won them both; for his the victor reed.

LYCIDAS.

What! 'Astylus! a likely tale, in sooth,
That Nyctilus could yield to that raw youth:
Tell me that linnets croak when crows are by,
Or dismal owls with vocal thrushes vie.

ASTYLUS.

Then may I suffer scorn from her bright eyes
For whom my wasted heart in secret sighs;
If Nyctilus with Alcon can compare
More in soft piping than in features fair.

LYCIDAS.

Ay—I'm deceived, I see: you cannot err;
Your judging eyes, not ears, the song prefer:
One has a sallow cheek: true sentence thine!
And prickly chin; his beard a porcupine.
The other, like an egg, of smooth-limbed mould;
With laughing eyes, and locks like threads of gold;
And when he sings, Apollo's self behold!

ASTYLUS.

Well—if the art of song were known to thee,
Perchance young Alcon might commended be.

LYCIDAS.

Hah! insolent! I challenge THEE to sing:
To THEE great umpire! I my gauntlet fling:
Wilt thou accept my brave: I care not, I,
Though thy dear Alcon sate as umpire by.

ASTYLUS.

Canst thou pretend to win a prize from me?
Who, think'st thou, lout, will deign to pipe with thee?
Thy dry lips sputter sounds, like drops from eaves,
And thy voice sobs with every word it heaves.

LYCIDAS.

Lie as thou wilt: thou canst not truly say
 Of me, what of thyself Lycotas may:
 But wherefore waste we time in vain dispute?
 See here Mnasyllus: now belike you're mute.
 But if you still are willing, knave! begin:
 If he be judge, 'tis more than words must win.

ASTYLUS.

Rather, I own, would I the prize resign,
 That prize which, uncontested, still is mine;
 Than thus ignobly match my voice with thine.
 But so thou shalt not 'scape. Yon stag behold,
 Among the bedded lilies, wanton, rolled;
 Though my own Petale the favourite love,
 The stake is thine, if thou the victor prove.
 He knows the rein; if called will credulous haste,
 And with the tame mouth the alternate viands taste.
 Seest thou his head with antlers branching wide?
 Round his slim throat the shining ribbands tied?
 His tangled brow with snowy halter graced?
 The belt of glassy beads that girds his waist?
 Soft roses twist his horns with fragile twine;
 See his long neck with glistening collar shine:
 The wild boar's ivory tusk beneath is slung,
 On his marked breast in moony whiteness hung.
 Such as he is, there grazing in the dale,
 I stake him now; that, when my lays prevail,
 The wager known may save thy lying tale.

LYCIDAS.

He thinks to fright me with his stake; but here
 How much I dread the wager shall appear.
 Two colts, thou know'st, are mine; unharnessed yet;
 Of these *Swift-flier* as a stake I set.
 Weaned from his dam along the mead he strays,
 And with his tender teeth but learns to graze.
 Light is his foot, not prominent his side,
 His neck not ponderous, arching in its pride:

Low is his back; his keen head high is borne;
And his turned hoof is bound with slender horn;
His hoof, that wantons o'er the verdant plain,
Skims with a touch, nor bends the brittle grain.
This, if o'ercome, I venture as thy prize:
And swear by all the woodland Deities.

MNASYLUS.

My leisure serves: your songs will charm my ear;
Then, if so please you, I as umpire hear:
Beneath yon oak the Muses' selves have made
A couch of herbage, and a mossy shade.
Or, should the brook's near brawl obstruct the theme,
Quit we the bank of this fast-purling stream;
For from the fretted rock sounds hoarse the spring,
And the shrill waters on their gravel ring.

ASTYLUS.

Then, if it please you, let us rather tend
Where neighbouring rocks a vaulted cavern bend;
Rocks where the clinging moss, of greenest hue,
Drops from its fringy down the filtered dew:
In fretted hollows winds the o'erarching cell,
In scallop wrought, incrustated with shell.
Come then; and with the silence of the cave
Exclude the intrusive murmurings of the wave.
There, would we sit, the spar a seat bestows,
Or, would we lie, the grass in tufted verdure grows.
Give o'er the quarrel: I your songs would hear:
Alternate loves will better please mine ear:
Come, Astylus! Be Petale thy praise:
And, Lycidas! let Phyllis prompt thy lays.

LYCIDAS.

Mnasylus, ay—lend all thy ears: they say
Thou hast heard wonders of his pipe and lay:
Wert thou not umpire, when he tuned his note,
In the green wood, against a linnet's throat?

ASTYLUS.

I cannot hold my peace at gibes like these;
Though passion burst me: let him, if he please,

Or sing, or listen; but his purpose here
 Is only spite, nor will he sing nor hear:
 'Twould please me though to see his colour fly,
 While you, our judge, condemned his songster villany.

LYCIDAS.

Thy baby efforts in the music-strife
 Are like my own, when reaching at a wife.
 Our neighbours Stimicon and Ægon stood
 With silent laughter in the shrubby wood;
 When late I played the man, and strove to sip
 A lover's kiss from pretty Mopsa's lip.

ASTYLUS.

Oh if Mnasyllus, stronger far than me,
 Were not beside us, urchin! thou should'st see
 If ever youngster were so mauled as thee!

MNASYLLUS.

Why will you wrangle thus, and chafe, and chide?
 If 'tis a match,—but no—I'll not decide:
 Some other umpire may pronounce for me;
 And look—some neighbours I approaching see:
 Let Mycon or Iolas be your man:
 They may compose your quarrel—if they can.

LUCAN

[A.D. 39]

MARCUS ANNÆUS LUCANUS was born at Corduba, now Cordova, in Spain, which was also the birth-place of Seneca, the philosopher, and of Seneca, the tragic poet. He was the son of Annæus Mela, a Roman knight, brother of Seneca, the stoic philosopher; and of Caia Acilia, the daughter of the orator Acilius Lucanus. Lucan was brought to Rome when an infant: he was educated there, under the most distinguished professors of rhetoric and philosophy. He was raised to the office of Questor by Nero, who had been his uncle's pupil. Lucan, it is said, drew upon him the Em-

peror's resentment, by disputing with him the prize of poetry in Pompey's amphitheatre; when Nero's Niobe was judged inferior to the Orpheus of Lucan, a poem now lost; and he was, in consequence, interdicted from reciting in public.

Lucan was afterwards implicated in Piso's conspiracy; and we are told by Tacitus that, at the sight of the instruments of torture, he was led to impeach his own mother. Acilia however was overlooked by Nero, glutted as he was by the varieties of death and torment inflicted on his victims; but the pusillanimous baseness imputed to Lucan availed him nothing: and he then prepared himself to die, with the courage and calmness of a philosophic character. He had his veins opened in a hot bath, and bled to death; repeating, while he expired, some verses from the third book of his *Pharsalia*, descriptive of a man cut in two by a grappling-hook in a sea-fight:

Asunder torn, not from a single wound
The blood wells slowly forth; but, poured at once,
Gushes from all the lacerated veins.
O'er every limb strays warm the crimson life;
The waters intercept it, as it flows;
Nor e'er, from dying man, the vital stream
Through such capacious channels ebb'd away.

Lucan died at the age of twenty-seven; and left his poem unfinished. It was revised and published by his wife Polla Argentaria, a lady praised by Statius for her accomplishments and ingenuous manners. It is singular, that the excellent translation of the *Pharsalia*, by Rowe, should have been produced to the world precisely under the same circumstances as the original. It was a posthumous work, and it was published by his widow.

Virgil is superior to Lucan in taste, in propriety of thought, elegance of diction, and flowing harmony of numbers; but in originality of genius, in weight of sentiment, in ardour of imagination, and in the strong and masterly display of character, Lucan excels Virgil. The cant of criticism has

objected to Lucan, that he does not employ the machinery of Gods and Goddesses, and that he comes under the class of historian or orator, rather than of poet. These distinctions are mere refinements. Both history and oratory may legitimately enter into epic poetry; but a poet neither declaims, nor narrates, like an orator or historian; and it should be shown that Lucan has not that higher excitement of fancy and passion which characterizes the poet.

As to the heathen machinery, we are not to be guided by forms and precedents, but by a rational view of the purposes of poetry, and by common sense. It is admitted, indeed, that Lucan showed his judgment in excluding the personal agency of Gods from a story of recent events; but this is insisted upon as an argument, that he should not have treated of recent events at all. This is indeed attaching a wonderful importance to a God and a Goddess. But the primary objects of epic poetry are the display of great passions, and the enforcement of momentous political, or moral, or religious truths; and the poet is to consider by what means these objects may best be effected. Whatever has lost its hold on the human mind should without hesitation be rejected, however recommended by the example and success of former poets, who used it under different circumstances. The fancy lends itself to the old Homeric mythology, as appropriate to his age. His Gods and Goddesses were as much the subjects of popular belief as the fairies of Wales. But the quarrels of Jupiter and Juno, and the flights of Mercury, pall upon the attention, when repeated for the thousandth time. The change of manners is one great cause of this. In the time of Virgil, the notion of every human action being impelled by some superior overruling power, had no longer any place in the opinions of men; and the interference of his Deities usually appears unnatural and unnecessary, and therefore cold and insipid. His Sibyll is impressive, because a real personage.

Lucan, on his part, neglected no occasion of heightening the solemnity of his poem, by such preternatural incidents as suited the temper of the times. Erictho and her sorceries might have roused the emulation of Dante; and "The Sacred

Wood" suggested to Tasso the idea of his "Enchanted Forest."

Had Lucan lived to revise his poem gradually, by the frequent exercise of a ripening judgment, he would probably have retrenched much of its ambition of grandeur; and repressed the occasional bloated extravagance of thought and diction. He is too fond of glitter and antithesis; his sublimity soars into bombast; and his descriptions are sometimes overcharged and overcoloured, and want the sober reality of truth. But these are the faults of genius; and they, who remark the contagious fervour and energy of his manner; the dignity of his moral conceptions; the strong interest of his characters; and the generous spirit of liberty that breathes through his poem, will be little disposed to concur with the supercilious censurers of Corneille; who, in seeking for a dramatic model, preferred Lucan to Virgil.

CÆSAR AND HIS ARMY ON THE PLAINS OF PHARSALIA

From the Pharsalia

THEY found indeed a world's collected spoils;
Ingots of ponderous ore amassed to feed
The charges of the war. Yet, could not this
Suffice to minds that coveted the realm.
All that the Iberian digs, and all the gold
That Tagus casts ashore; and those rich grains
Culled by the Arimasian on the ridge
Of sandy hills, would seem, within their grasp,
A price too mean for their unnatural guilt.
The conquerors self-assured that they should stand
On the Tarpeian citadel, whose hopes
The promise fired of universal Rome
A spoil and prey, felt mocked to seize a camp.
On the same turf, where senators had lain,
The impious herd took now their rest: the couch,
Which princes left, the ruffian soldier pressed;
And sinful they reposed them on the beds
Of fathers and of brothers. Yet their sleep
Was frantic rest; their midnight dreams were filled
With fury: wretched, turning in their thoughts

Thessalia's fight. Their savage guilt awakes,
Watching beside them. All the scene of arms
Still agitates their souls. Their empty hands
Grasp at the hilt, convulsive. I should deem,
The field of blood beneath them, groaning, heaved;
That noxious earth with supernatural life
Had re-inspired the dead; the infected air
Were thronged with rising ghosts, and the upper world
Borrowed its horror from the night of Hell.
For victory now exacts atoning pains
From these, the conscious victors. Slumber brings
The hiss of adders, and the glare of flames.
The phantom of the murdered citizen
Is present in their sleep. Each pants oppressed
Beneath the image of his haunting fear.
One sees the countenance of the old, and one
The youthful aspect. This a brother's corse
Disturbs, still bleeding ghastly in his dreams:
Another's bosom shudders at the sight
Of a slain father; and in Cæsar's breast
Mingle at once all visions of the dead.
Not otherwise, ere purified from blood
At Scythian altars, did Orestes view
The features of the Furies; nor the mind
Of Pentheus more astonished tumult felt;
Nor wild Agave, when her sense had fled.
Him all the swords that thronged Pharsalia's field,
Or weapons of that future vengeful day,
When senators for freedom strike, oppress
In that night's slumber. Fiends of nether Hell
Scourge him with rods. How does the conscious mind
Afflict the punished criminal, when thus
Infernal scenes, and phantoms of the dead,
Are heaped upon his rest; yet Pompey lives!—
But all these sufferings moved him not; when day
Shone clear abroad, discovering to the sight
Pharsalia's ruins: nor that spectacle
Of horror could recall his lingering eyes
From the funereal plain. He sees the brooks
With tides of blood accelerated flow;
Sees hills of dead, and carcasses that steam
Resolving in corruption, and counts o'er

The slain of Pompey. On that spot his board
Is spread with viands; whence he may descry
The upturned features of his prostrate foes.
He joys to see the Emathian campaign hid;
And with his eyes explore the field, that lurks
Beneath the heaps of carnage. In that blood
He sees his fortune, and his guardian Gods;
And, in his rancorous fury, lest he lose
The show of this, his bloody theatre
Of guilt, he grudges to the wretched dead
Their funeral fires; and heaps the Emathian plains
Upon the infected air. The Punic chief,
Who buried slain Æmilius, and the piles
Of Cannæ's plains, with Lybian torches fired,
Persuade not Cæsar so to yield his foes
The rites of mild humanity. His rage,
Unsated with the slaughter, yet retains
The memory of their aggravated crime:—
His countrymen, and citizens of Rome.
We ask no single tombs; no separate piles;
Give the slain people one consuming blaze
Of general fire, nor let their bodies burn
Distinguished by their intermediate flames.
Or, if the anguish of thy daughter's spouse
Delight thee, pile the groves of Pindus high;
Build Æta's heapy woods; that Pompey's gaze
From the far sea may ken Thessalia's fires.
This rage avails thee not; for if the corse
Dissolve in its corruption, or consume
Upon the blazing pyre, imports alike.
Nature within her placid breast receives
All her creation; and the body pays
Itself the due of nature, and its end
Is self-consummated. But, Cæsar! know,
The fire, that now these lifeless bodies shuns,
Shall burn them with the melted globe of earth,
Shall burn them with the sea: one common flame
Shall snatch the world; and, in the general wreck,
The falling stars shall mix with human bones:
And thou, wherever Fate may call thy soul,
These spirits of the dead shall find thee there.
Not higher canst thou soar in air, nor dive,

In shades below, to more Elysian bowers.
 Death, free from Fortune's malice, smiles secure;
 And earth embraces in her sheltering arms
 Whate'er she clothed with life: the vault of Heaven
 Covers the dead, defrauded of an urn.

VALERIUS FLACCUS

[A.D. 69]

CATIUS VALERIUS FLACCUS was surnamed Setinus, from Setia, a town in Campania: now Sezza, in the Campagna di Roma, where he was born; but it appears from Martial that he was a citizen of Padua; and we find that he was one of that numerous tribe of poets, who, in Juvenal's phrase, "are praised and starve."

Flaccus! to this my trade who bring'st renown!
 Thou hope and foster-son of Padua's town:
 Leave the Pierian songs and Sisters Nine:
 Not one with silver will thy coffers line:
 Why sue Apollo? to Minerva hie:
 To all the Gods she lends on usury.
 What bears the Bacchic ivy? hasten thou
 Where the dun olive bends its greenish bough.
 The Heliconian springs, wreaths, goddess-lyres,
 Bring the loud "bravo:" that in breath expires;
 Permessus', Cyrrha's banks are barren—come!
 Nearer and richer is the bar of Rome.
 There coin chinks shrill; but round our rostrums bare,
 And audience-benches, hugs are all our fare

Epigram lxxvii. Book I.

The Argonautics were left imperfect; and Quintilian observes that by the untimely death of Valerius much has been lost to the world of letters.

Valerius Flaccus has paraphrased Apollonius, and copied Virgil. His want of originality however does not seem to account sufficiently for the fastidious neglect with which he has been treated: for is Virgil himself original? Where Valerius imitates, it is with the spirit of an original writer;

and it is a remarkable proof of his possessing real genius, that those passages, in which he has trusted to his own invention, are among the best of his poem. He has been called flat and cold; because, as it should seem, he has retained the unaffected nobleness of the pure Virgilian style, and has nothing of the tumour and glitter of Claudian. But his diction is no less splendid than chaste: in clearness and lustre of description he is not unworthy of comparison with Virgil; and although inferior to his Grecian predecessor in the finer touches of character and the bolder strokes of nature, he is not deficient either in tenderness or energy; and far exceeds the poet of Honorius in the genuine expression of passionate sentiment.

CHARMING OF THE DRAGON, AND FLIGHT OF MEDEA

From the Argonautics

TREMBLING within her chamber walls, afraid
Of her own deeds, remained the Colchian maid.
The threats and furies of her father rise
In fitting vision to her wandering eyes:
No more the azure deeps inflict dismay,
And no far land to her is far away.
Whate'er the bark, whate'er the ocean be,
She pants to climb the deck, nor fears the sea.
Then on her virgin fillets she bestowed
A last, last kiss; while tears in torrents flowed;
Clung with fond arms around that deserted bed;
And rent her cheeks and hair: for, ere she fled,
The traces of her ancient dream again
Rose wildering on her melancholy brain.
On the prest couch her grovelling form she throws,
And, thus exclaiming, breathes her parting woes.
"Oh did my father these embraces give,
And fondly bless the wretched fugitive!
Oh could'st thou, most revered Æetes! see
These streaming tears! for not more loved is he;
No—trust me, father! not more dear than thee!
Oh! that the swelling waves might close above,
And I might perish with the man I love!

My prayers I leave thee: may thy reign endure
To long old age, in placid rest secure:
And other children, oh my father! be
Worthier thy trust, and kinder far than me?"

She said; and drew from caskets, fraught with death,
Drugs prized by Jason to his latest breath:
The magic poisons intricate inrolled
Within her virgin vesture's bosom fold;
With these her jewelled necklace, artful, stored,
And in her mantle wrapped the murderous sword.
Then forth she leaped; as if the Furies urged
Her haste, and with their twisted serpents scourged.
So with scared foot the flying Ino leaps,
Clasping the unheeded babe, among the deeps:
With vain pursuit the husband stretches o'er
The isthmus sands, and raging stamps the shore.

The hero, first, had sought the grove; and stood,
Urged by his anxious hopes, amidst the wood,
Shrouded in shade; yet, seen from far, the grace
Of heavenly beauty flushed his youthful face.
As, while his comrades through the thicket strayed,
The Latmian hunter rested in the shade,
Worthy to draw a Goddess from the sky;
And lo! the moon, with crescent veiled, drew nigh.
So, through the mists of overshadowing night,
The bloom of Jason breathed its rosy light;
And, gentle as the moon, amid the grove
Stole the soft form of his expected Love.
Behold! as, trembling, light, on flitting wings
The dove, in darkness, 'gainst the passer springs;
So flew Medea, panting with her fears,
To Jason's arms, and he soft-whispering cheers
The enfolded maid: and "oh!" he soothing cried,
"Oh! of my sacred home the future pride!
Thou, virgin, thou alone art worthy found
Of all our wanderings, the wide seas around;
I ask no fleece; enough if o'er the sea
My vessel waft a prize so fair as thee!
But, since thou canst, let this kind gift increase
Thy rich deservings: grant the golden fleece.
The precious hide must grace our tasked return;
For this my friends in zealous glory burn."

He said: and soft with suppliant kisses pressed
Her finger-tips: sobs heaved the virgin's breast;
And, with new grief, she cried: "for thy dear sake
From country and from realm my flight I take:
I speak not as a queen; my sceptre now
Is fallen; the slave of an enamoured vow!
Keep then the faith which thou hast vowed to me,
The first soft oath, thou knowest, was breathed from thee;
Those oaths the Gods have witnessed from on high;
The stars behold us from the silent sky.
With thee I tempt the seas: with thee explore
Whatever ocean, and whatever shore.
But let me not, on this ill-omened day,
Be torn a culprit from thy arms away;
Nor dragged, with blushes, to my parents' eyes;
Forbid the shame, ye pitying Deities!
Forbid it, oh my guest!" in bounding haste
She rushed, all frantic, through the briery waste.
Close at her side the watchful hero pressed,
And pitying saw the struggles of her breast.
When through the gloom the youth a flame surveyed,
And a fierce light shone quivering through the shade.
"Whence glows the reddening Heaven?" he, trembling, cries;
"What dismal star is gleaming from the skies?"
The virgin answered: "Lo! before thy gaze
Askance the dragon's eyes terrific blaze;
And brandished thus, athwart the burnished air,
From his keen crest the lightning splendours glare.
Me only he discerns: in fawning mood,
Crouching, with softened hiss he craves his food.
Say now if thou wilt tear the spoil from high,
While on his foe is bent that watchful eye;
Or shall my art his glance in slumber shade,
And, first, the serpent at thy feet be laid?"

Silent he stood: the magic maid impressed
So deep a horror on his heaving breast.
The Colchian princess lifts her hands in air,
And scatters towards the stars her streaming hair.
While chanted rhymes barbaric cadence keep,
Her moving lips invoke the Sire of sleep:

"Hear, mighty Sleep! the Colchian virgin's call!
Where'er thou lingerest on this earthly ball.

I bid thee haste from all beneath the pole,
And rush collected on the serpent's soul!
Oft have I poured thy horn's oblivious dew
To still the rapid lightning, as it flew:
The surging seas; the turbid clouds on high;
The sparkling stars, and meteors of the sky.
I call thee now in all thy mightiest power:
Come like thy brother death, in this momentous hour.
Guard of the golden fleece! let sleep allay
Thy restless watching: turn thine eyes away.
At length 'tis time: what treachery canst thou fear,
The Colchian maid, thy own Medea, near?
Myself will guard the grove, and watch the while;
Then let repose thy long, long toils beguile."

He not relaxed his weary folds; but feared
The rest permitted, and by toil endeared:
Yet shuddering felt the cloud of slumber creep,
And from the branches shook the balm of sleep.
The Colchian maid her foaming venoms threw,
And waved the bough, immersed in Lethe's dew:
With chanted rhyme she lulls his drooping eyes,
With hand and tongue the Stygian charm she plies;
And still persists: till whelming slumber holds
The burning wrath that writhes his struggling folds.
He falls his crest: he droops his languid head;
And lies, beyond the fleece, in trailing volumes spread:
Like reflux Po, or Nile of sevenfold train,
Or Alpheus winding o'er Hesperia's plain.
But when Medea saw the folds unwound,
And her loved dragon grovelling on the ground;
Cast at her length, her clasping arms she threw;
And, "Ah! not such thou met'st Medea's view,
When yesternight thy opening jaws I fed,
With honeyed cates, and medicated bread.
How moveless is thy weight! how slow thy breath!
At least my hand is guiltless of thy death.
Unhappy serpent! when in evil day
Thy eyes no glittering fleece beneath the bough survey.
Yield to the God; and seek a happier lot
In other groves, the faithless maid forgot.
Nor may thy well-known hiss my flight pursue
From sea to sea; my keen remorse renew.

But thou, oh Jason! tremble at delay:
Haste, snatch the fleece, and bear thy prize away.
By my pernicious arts, my injured sire
Has seen his brazen-footed bulls expire;
Spell-doomed by me the earth-born giants bled;
Stretched at thy feet the dragon bows his head;
Now may I hope the crown of guilt is won;
Now all is finished; now my crimes are done."

Then, while he questioned how, with grappling hold,
To reach the elm-tree top, that waved with gold;
"On, on," she cried; "and o'er the dragon's mail
With firm-pressed foot the height ascending scale."
He lingered not; but at the maid's behest,
With firm set heel the bulky serpent pressed;
And to the aerial elm ascending clung,
On whose tall boughs the hide resplendent hung:
Like fiery clouds, that flush with ruddy glare,
Or Iris, gliding through the purple air;
When loosely girt her dazzling mantle flows,
And 'gainst the sun in arching colours glows.
Exulting Jason grasped the shining hide,
His last of labours, and his envied pride.
Slow from the groaning branch the fleece was rent;
Of Phryxus' flight the splendid monument
For years long past: the tree reluctant bends,
And sudden darkness o'er its top descends.

Emerging from the wood, they took their way
Through plains that glanced beneath the gleaming ray,
To where the river opened in a bay.
His limbs and back are wrapt in shaggy gold,
His left arm mantled in the glistening fold:
So from Nemea's den Alcides strode,
The lion's yellow spoil around his shoulders flowed.
Now, where his friends their destined station hold,
He breaks the darkness, garmented in gold:
The Thracians shout: instinctive Argo glides
Swift to the bank; self-moving through the tides.
With steps impetuous Jason trod the shore;
The fleece of downy gold he sent before.
Then, with the maid, who shrank in wondering fear,
Leaped on the deck, and couched his quivering spear.
Dread horrors now the parents' ears affright,

Their fated house, the virgin's fraud, and flight:
In sudden arms the brother blazed along,
And the moved city poured its gathering throng:
While, nerved with anguish of indignant rage,
Æetes flew, forgetful of his age.
With bristling spears in vain the shores are lined;
The darted vessel flies before the wind.
Distracted on the shore the mother stands,
And towards the boundless ocean spreads her hands.
The sister, every mother, every bride,
Hang round her steps, and hover o'er the tide:
Thy sweet companions, oh deluded fair!
The partners of thy virgin sports are there:
Wild starting from the rest, the mother flies
And fills the air with shrieks and agonies:
"Stay thy rash flight! and from the distant main,
For oh! thou canst, my daughter! turn again!
Whither depart? the vessel backward steer;
Thy friends, thy still fond father, wait thee here.
Here is thy own hereditary sway:
Then why to Greece, in trusting rashness, stray?
What place to thee will Grecian maids resign;
A foreign virgin, say, what claims are thine?
Is this the house? are these the wedding ties?
Is this the day to bless my aged eyes?
Oh! might I with a vulture's talons rend
That robber's cheeks! his very deck ascend;
And, audible, in clear and piercing strain,
Demand my daughter at his hands again?
The Albanian monarch's bride the maid should be;
No compact, Jason! had we joined with thee:
No amorous theft did Pelias' lips command;
No rape of virgins from our Colchian strand.
Thine be the golden fleece! unenvied, thine!—
Nay more—our temple's treasures we resign.
But why these wild unjust reproaches give?
She is, herself, the willing fugitive:
So glows her breast to guilty love resigned;
How every truth comes thronging on my mind!
Since the Thessalian vessel touched the shore,
Thy food, sad maid! thy pastime pleased no more;
Thy colour paled; thou would'st in murmurs speak;
The flushing red came wandering o'er thy cheek;

And the gay smile, that flashed its transient grace,
But shone reflected from another's face.
Why was the dreadful mischief not disclosed?
Then Jason were our son: nor thou exposed
To shameful flight; or I at least had known
To share a crime which now is all thy own;
Had shared thy wanderings o'er the boundless sea,
And trod Thessalia's distant soil with thee:
In what far town that cruel stranger dwell,
Had I been with thee, it had then been well!"

She spoke, in loud and passionate lament:
With shrieks the shrilling air the sister rent:
Alike the damsels to the winds exclaim,
With empty words, and call the nymph by name:
But thee, for off, the ocean gales convey,
And thy Fates waft thee on the destined way.

SILIUS ITALICUS

[A.D. 72]

CAIUS SILIUS ITALICUS distinguished himself at Rome by his eloquence at the bar. The place of his birth is supposed to have been either Italica in Spain, or Corfinium, in Italy; which, during the social war, received the name of Italia. He filled the rank of consul the same year that Nero was assassinated. Under that Emperor he had hurt his reputation by acting as a state-accuser; but he retrieved his character, and used his interest with the profligate tyrant Vitellius discreetly and humanely. The purity of his administration, while proconsul in Asia, obtained him deserved honour. In the decline of life he retired into Campania; and was not attracted again to Rome, even by the accession of the new emperor, Trajan: who was not offended by his preference of retirement. He was an invalid, and often kept his chamber; where, however, he was visited by artists and men of letters. He was enthusiastically fond of the arts; and his several villas contained curious and valuable collections of books, statues, and pictures. He particularly valued the portrait of Virgil, to whose tomb, near Naples, he paid solemn visits; and whose birth-day he annually celebrated. He was

afflicted with an incurable abscess, which at length occasioned him such extreme suffering that he determined on putting an end to his existence, by abstaining from sustenance. He died, in this manner, in his 75th year.

The Latinity of Silius is elegant and pure, and his versification round and smooth; but his manner is so studiously modelled on that of Virgil, as to have obtained him the appellation of "Virgil's Ape." Yet Silius is by no means destitute of genius. He is an accurate observer, and paints to the eye: his descriptions are strong, distinct, and animated; and the boldness of fancy, with which he expatiates among the sublimer scenes of nature, effectually repels the vulgar accusation, that the character of his poetry is tame and spiritless. In the plan of his poem however he has shown a timidity of invention, by his servile compliance with Epic precedent. Virgil, who treated a subject connected with the ancient tale of Troy, naturally adopted the Homeric machinery; but the Romans must have smiled in incredulous derision, to see Venus throwing the fires of her husband Vulcan at the head of the river Trebia, who had risen from his bed of waters to expostulate with Scipio.

PASSAGE OF HANNIBAL OVER THE ALPS

From the Punic War

BEYOND the Pyrenean's lofty bound,
Through blackening forests shagged with pine around,
The Carthaginian passed; and, fierce, explored
The Volcan champaign with his wasting sword.
Then trod the threatening banks, with hastening force,
Where Rhone high-swellling rolls its sweeping course.
From Alpine heights, and steep rocks, capped with snow,
Gushes the Rhone, where Gaul is stretched below.
Cleaves with a mighty surge the foaming plain,
And with broad torrent rushes in the main.
Swollen Arar mingles slow its lingering tide,
That, silent gliding, scarcely seems to glide:
Caught in the headlong whirlpool, breaks away,
Snatched through the plains, and starting from delay;

Plunged in the deep the hurried stream is tost,
And in the greater flood its name is lost.
Alert the troops the bridgeless current brave,
With head and neck upraised above the wave,
Secure their steely swords; or firm divide,
With sinewy arms, the strong and boisterous tide.
The war-steed, bound on rafts, the river treads;
Nor the vast elephant retarding dreads
To tempt the ford; while scattered earth they strow
O'er the hid planks, that hide the stream below.
Loosed from the banks the gradual cord extends,
And on the flood the unconscious beast descends.
As the trooped quadrupeds, down-sliding slow,
Launched on the stream that, quivering, dashed, below;
Beneath the incumbent weight, with starting tide,
The rapid Rhone poured back on every side:
Tossed its white eddies on the frothy strand,
And, sullen, murmured on its chafing sand.
Now stretched the onward host their long array
Through the Tricastine plains; and wound their way
O'er smooth ascents, and where Vocontia yields
The level champaign of her verdant fields.
Athwart their easy march Druentia spread
The devastation of its torrent bed:
Turbid with stones and trunks of trees, descends
The Alpine stream; the ashen forests rends;
Rolls mountain fragments, crumbling to the shock,
And beats with raving surge the channelled rock.
Of nameless depth its ever-changing bed
Betrays the fording warrior's faithless tread;
The broad and flat pontoon is launched in vain,
High swells the flood with deluges of rain;
Snatched with his arms the staggering soldier slides,
And mangled bodies toss in gulfy tides.
But now, the o'erhanging Alps, in prospect near,
Efface remembered toils in future fear.
While with eternal frost, with hailstones piled,
The ice of ages grasps those summits wild.
Stiffening with snow the mountain soars in air,
And fronts the rising sun, unmelted by the glare.
As the Tartarean gulf, beneath the ground,
Yawns to the gloomy lake in hell's profound;

So high earth's heaving mass the air invades,
And shrouds the heaven with intercepting shades.
No Spring, no Summer strews its glories here,
Lone Winter dwells upon these summits drear;
And guards his mansion round the endless year.
Mustering from far around his grisly form
Black rains, and hailstone showers, and clouds of storm.
Here in their wrathful kingdom whirlwinds roam,
And the blasts struggle in their Alpine home.
The upward sight a swimming darkness shrouds,
And the high crags recede into the clouds.
First Hercules those untried heights explored,
And 'midst the aerial hills, adventurous, soared;
The Gods beheld him cleave through many a cloud,
While sinking rocks beneath his footstep bowed:
And striving, leave the vanquished steeps below,
Where never foot had touch the eternal snow.
Did Taurus, piled on Athos, pierce the skies;
And Mimas, heaved on Rhodope, arise;
Hæmus its steepy mass on Othrys roll;
And Pelion, reared on Ossa, shade the pole;
Mountain on mountain would in vain be hurled,
And lessening shrink beside the Alpine world.
A lingering holy dread the soldier bound;
His step hung doubtful, as on sacred ground:
It seemed that Nature's self the access denied;
That their invading arms the Gods defied.
But no rude Alp, no terror of the scene,
Moved Hannibal, undaunted and serene:
Indignant sadness only changed his brow;
As with exhorting words he quickened now
Their languid hopes, and hearts: "What shame were ours,
Tired with the favour of the heavenly Powers;
Sick of our long success, those glorious bays
That crowned the labour of our well-fought days;
To turn our recreant backs on mountain snows,
And slothful yield, where only rocks are foes!
Oh! now my friends, e'en now, believe, ye climb
Despotic Rome's proud walls, and tread, sublime,
The Capitol of Jove! thus, thus we gain
The prize of toil, and Tiber owns our chain."

He spoke; nor they delayed: the troops he drew

Up the steep hills, their promised spoil in view :
Transgressed the Herculean road, and first made known
Tracks yet untrodden and a path their own :
Where inaccessible the desert rose,
He burst a passage through forbidden snows ;
He, first, the opposing ridge ascending tried,
And bade the unconquerable cliff subside ;
Cheered on the lingering troops ; and, beckoning high,
Stood on the crag, and shouted from the sky.
Oft, where the slippery path belied the tread,
And concrete frost the whitening cliff bespread ;
Through the reluctant ice his arm explored
The upward track, that opened to his sword.
Oft the thawed surface from the footstep shrank ;
Suck'd in the absorbing gulf the warriors sank ;
Or from high ride the mass of rushing snow
In humid ruin whelmed the ranks below.
On dusky wings the west-wind swept the heaven ;
Full in their face the snowy whirls were driven ;
Now from their empty grasp the arms are torn,
And sudden on the howling whirlwind borne ;
Snatched on the blast, the wrested weapons fly,
And wheel in airy eddies round the sky.
When, striving o'er the ascent, the height they gain
With planted foot, increasing toils remain :
Yet other heights their upward view surprise,
And opening mountains upon mountains rise.
No joy results from breathless efforts past ;
The plains are won, yet still the mountains last :
Repeated summits fright their aching eyes,
While one white heap of frost in circling prospect lies.
Thus in mid-sea, the mariner explores,
With fruitless longing, the receded shores :
When no fresh wind, with spirit-stirring gale,
Bends the tall mast, or fills the flagging sail ;
O'er boundless deeps his eyes exhausted rove,
And rest relieved upon the skies above.
O'er jagged heights, and icy fragments rude,
Thus climb they, 'midst the mountain solitude ;
And from the rocky summits, haggard, show
Their half-wild visage, clotted thick with snow.
Continual drizzlings of the drifting air

Scar their rough cheeks, and stiffen in their hair.
 Now poured from craggy dens, a headlong force,
 The Alpine hordes hang threatening on their course;
 Track the known thickets, beat the mountain snow,
 Bound o'er the steeps, and hovering hem the foe.
 Here changed the scene; the snows were crimsoned o'er,
 The hard ice trickled to the tepid gore.
 With pawing hoof the courser delved the ground,
 And rigid frost his clinging fetlock bound:
 Nor yet his slippery fall the peril ends;
 The fracturing ice the bony socket rends.
 Twelve times they measured the long light of day,
 And night's bleak doom, and urged through wounds their way;
 Till on the topmost ridge their camp was flung,
 High o'er the steepy crags, in airy distance, hung.

MARTIAL

[A.D. 82]

MARCUS VALERIUS MARTIALIS was born at Bilbilis, a town of Celtiberia, the modern Arragon. His father's name was Fronto, and that of his mother, Flaccilla. He repaired to Rome, when very young, and was destined for the bar; but his inclinations were turned towards poetry; and he acquired a sort of fashionable fame by a peculiar talent at satirical epigram. Domitian rewarded his panegyrics by creating him a Roman knight, and raising him to the tribunate. He was patronized by Silius Italicus, and befriended by the younger Pliny; who, on his retiring from Rome in the decline of life, assisted him with money, of which he appears to have stood in need; and who speaks of him in one of his letters with kindness and regret, apparently softened and pleased by his compliments. After his return to Spain, he married a lady of the name of Marcella. The bride was rich, and the bridegroom grateful: he tells her,

Thou art, alone, another Rome to me:

and, in another epigram, he talks of the stately house and gardens, which she brought him:

This little kingdom my Marcella gave.

The example of Martial has associated the idea of a sting, or point, with the epigram; which implied originally a short and simple inscription, or effusion. The invention, which reserves a thought for the close, must be admitted to be extremely artificial; and where there is this appearance of stratagem, and laboured contrivance, the humour must appear forced. It is the lowest kind of wit which deals in points, and clenches. The style of Martial is terse, and his fancy was not without poetical images. But he has practised and defended a gross and shameless indecency; and his book may be called the "sink" of all the impurities of Rome. The general character of his pages may be tolerably guessed from the partiality of that arch-patron of debauchees, the emperor Verus, who, when he spoke of Martial, was accustomed to call him "his Virgil."

TO A BOASTING CHARACTER

FINE lectures Attalus rehearses;
Pleads finely; writes fine tales, and verses;
Fine epigrams, fine farces vie
With grammar and astrology:
He finely sings, and dances finely;
Plays tennis; fiddles most divinely;
All finely done, and nothing well:
Then, if a man the truth may tell,
This all-accomplished Punchinello
Is a most busy, idle fellow.

TO THE POSSESSOR OF A FINE SEAT

So thick your planes and laurels spread,
And cypress groves so rear the head
High in the air; your baths so wide
Expand their streams on every side;
They'd shade and bathe full half the town;
Yet shades and baths are all your own.
Your porch on hundred columns soars:
You tread on alabaster floors;

The race-horse beats your dusty ring;
 Fountains, with ever-wasting spring,
 Fall on the ear with gliding sound,
 And spacious courts are opening round.
 'Tis all so grand and so complete,
 There is no room to sleep or eat:
 How excellently lodged, Sir, here,
 In this no-lodging you appear!

TO A FOP

THEY tell me, Cotilus, that you're a beau:
 What this is, Cotilus, I wish to know.
 "A beau is one who, with the nicest care,
 In parted locks divides his curling hair;
 One, who with balm and cinnamon smells sweet;
 Whose humming lips some Spanish air repeat;
 Whose naked arms are smoothed with pumice-stone,
 And tost about with graces all his own:
 A beau is one who takes his constant seat,
 From morn till evening, where the ladies meet;
 And ever, on some sofa hovering near,
 Whispers some nothing in some fair-one's ear;
 Who scribbles thousand billets-doux a day;
 Still reads, and scribbles; seals, and sends away.
 A beau is one who shrinks, if nearly prest
 By the coarse garment of a neighbour guest;
 Who knows who flirts with whom, and still is found
 At each good table in successive round:
 A beau is one—none better knows than he
 A race-horse, and his noble pedigree—"
 Indeed?—why, Cotilus, if this be so,
 What teasing trifling thing is called a beau!

TO TAURUS

WHILE rhetorician, lawyer, tempts thy choice,
 And what thou'lt be still hangs upon thy voice:
 Wilt thou old Priam's age, or Nestor's wait?
 Now wilt thou fix? 'tis long ago too late:
 Nay come—this year three rhetoricians died:
 Come—hast thou spirit? brains? the schools are wide.

If you dislike the schools, the law-courts brawl
 To rouse e'en Marsyas from his pedestal.
 Come ho! decide; or must we still gaze on?
 Doubt'st thou what *something* thou wilt fix upon?
 Thou canst be nothing now: time was: 'tis gone.

TO CÆCILIANUS

"Oh times! oh manners!" Tully cried of old;
 When Catiline in impious plots grew bold:
 When in fell arms the son and father stood,
 And the sad earth reeked red with civil blood:
 Why now—why now, "oh times! oh manners" cry?
 What is it now that shocks thy purity?
 No sword now maddens, and no chiefs destroy,
 But all is peace, security, and joy:
 These times, these manners, that so vile are grown,
 Prythee, Cæcilian, are they not *thy own*?

ON THE GIRL EROTION

THE girl that was to ear and sight
 More soft of tone, of skin more white,
 Than plumaged swans, that yield in death
 The sweetest murmur of their breath:
 Smooth as Galesus' soft-fleeced flocks;
 Dainty as shells on Lucrine rocks;
 As red-sea pearls; bright ivory's glow;
 Unsullied lilies; virgin snow:
 Whose locks were tipped with ruddy gold,
 Like wool that clothes the Bætic fold;
 Like braided hair of girls of Rhine;
 As tawny field-mouse sleek and fine:
 Whose vermeil mouth breathed Pæstum's rose;
 Or balm fresh honey-combs disclose;
 Or amber yielding odour sweet
 From the chafing hand's soft heat:
 By whom the peacock was not fair;
 Nor squirrels pets, nor phœnix rare:
 Erotion crumbles in her urn;
 Warm from the pile her ashes burn:
 Ere yet had closed her sixteenth year
 The Fates accurst have spread her bier;

And with her all I doated on,
 My loves, my joys, my sports are gone.
 Yet Pætus, who like me distrest,
 Is fain to beat his mourning breast,
 And tear his hair beside a grave,
 Asks, "Blush you not to mourn a slave?
 I mourn a high, rich, noble wife:
 And yet I bear my lot of life!"
 Thy fortitude exceeds all bounds:
 Thou hast two hundred thousand pounds:
 Thou bear'st—'tis true—thy lot of life:
 Thou bear'st the jointure of thy wife.

TO CALLISTRATUS

YES—I am poor, Callistratus! I own;
 And so was ever; yet not quite unknown,
 Graced with a knight's degree; nor this alone:
 But through the world my verse is frequent sung;
 And "that is he!" sounds buzzed from every tongue:
 And what to few, when dust, the Fates assign,
 In bloom and freshness of my days is mine.
 Thy ceilings on a hundred columns rest;
 Wealth, as of upstart freemen, bursts thy chest:
 Nile flows in fatness o'er thy ample fields;
 Cisalpine Gaul thy silky fleeces yields:
 Lo! such thou art, and such am I: like me
 Callistratus! thou canst not hope to be:
 A hundred of the crowd resemble thee.

STATIUS

[AGE OF DOMITIAN]

PUBLIUS PAPINIUS STATIUS was a Neapolitan. He was the son of Papinius Statius, a writer of celebrity in prose and verse, but whose works are lost; and Angellina. He married Claudia, daughter of Claudius Apollinaris, and widow of a musician: a lady whom he records with fond admiration, in one of his poems, for her affectionate qualities and literary taste. Having no son by Claudia, he adopted an infant whose untimely death is lamented by him in a tender elegy. He

obtained the prize of poetry in the Alban games, on the subject of Minerva, three several times: in the contest at the Capitoline games, where the praises of Jupiter were celebrated, he was unsuccessful. His popularity is mentioned by Juvenal, in a passage which is considered by Lilius Gyraldus, in his historical dialogues on the Greek and Latin poets, as satirical: a notion which is justified neither by the passage itself, nor by the context of the satire.

All Rome is pleased, when Statius will rehearse,
And longing crowds expect the promised verse:
His lofty numbers with so great a gust
They hear and swallow with such eager lust.
But, while the common suffrage gained his cause,
And broke the benches with their loud applause,
His Muse had starved, had not a piece unread,
And by a player bought, supplied her bread.

Charles Dryden.

This player was Paris, a favourite of Domitian; and the piece alluded to was a tragedy called *Agave*, which is no longer extant.

Statius was occupied twelve years in the composition and revision of his *Thebaid*. His *Achilleid* was left a fragment at his death, which probably took place at Naples, as in a poem to Claudia he urges the wish to pass the remainder of his days there, in preference to Rome.

Statius was no less an admirer of Virgil than was Silius Italicus; and in the same manner celebrated his birth-day: but he seems, notwithstanding, to have been more cordially attached to Lucan, whom he eulogizes in a birth-day poem.

BIRTHDAY FESTIVAL OF LUCAN

In years of youth thou wakest the string,
Ere of his gnat could Virgil sing:
To thee shall yield rude Ennius' page,
And learned Lucretius' arduous rage:
He that led Argo through the wave,
And he that forms transfigured gave:

Nay more—while Romans listening throng,
The Æneid's self shall venerate thy song.

The cadence of his verse appears modelled upon that of Virgil; but he has copied from Lucan some of those gorgeous extravagancies in description, which the chaste judgment of Virgil would have rejected.

He is not, however, a servile imitator of either: his poetry is stamped by a masculine vigour and originality, a rich and vivid imagination, and a strong sense of the pathetic. It is in the latter quality, and in the picturesqueness of circumstance which marks his imagery, that his merit must perhaps be sought: they who have usually decided on the character of Statius, have confined themselves to his efforts at sublimity; and have criticised him, with too sweeping a censure, as a bombastic and affected poet. He does not indeed seem entirely calculated to excel in epic poetry: his characters have little of very prominent interest; and, whether from this, or from some other cause, the *Thebaid*, notwithstanding the splendour or beauty of its parts, is, as a whole, languishing and heavy. The "Minor Poems" are marked with his characteristic tenderness of feeling, and delicacy of fancy.

TO SLEEP

AH sleep! serenest God! what crime is mine,
 That I, the only youth, at thee repine?
 Now the hushed calm and stillness of repose
 O'er fold, and nest, and lair of woodland grows;
 The tree-tops curve their boughs in imaged sleep;
 From the fierce torrents altered murmurs creep;
 The wave-ridged ocean falls its softened roar,
 And seas, at rest, recline upon the shore.
 Seven times the moon returns; yet pale, and weak,
 Distemper sits upon my faded cheek:
 The emerging stars, from Æta's mount that rise,
 And Venus' fires have re-illumed the skies;
 Still, past my plaints, Aurora's chariot flew;
 Her shaken lash dropped cold the pitying dew.
 Can I endure? not if to me were given
 The eyes of Argus, sentinel of Heaven:

Those thousand eyes that watch alternate kept,
 Nor all o'er all his body waked or slept.
 Ah me! yet now, beneath night's lengthening shade,
 Some youth's twined arms enfold the twining maid;
 Willing he wakes, while midnight hours roll on,
 And scorns thee, sleep! and waves thee to be gone.
 Come, then, from then! oh leave their bed for mine;
 I bid thee not with all thy plumes incline
 On my bowed lids; this kindest boon beseems
 The happy crowd, that share thy softest dreams:
 Let thy wand's tip but touch my closing eye,
 Or, lightly hovering, skim, and pass me by.

ANONYMOUS

[SECOND CENTURY, A.D.]

THE *Pervigilium Veneris*, "Night Watch of Venus," is a poem in trochaic rhythm of unknown authorship and date. It probably belongs to the latter part of the second century A.D. Baehrens, a German scholar, attributes it to TIBERIUS, a poet of that period of whom little is known. Two MSS. of it have been preserved; one made in the seventh century, and one in the ninth; both are in the National Library at Paris. The ninth century copy is a part of the MS. containing Catullus, and accordingly we usually find this poem, both in the original text and in translation, included among the works of the Augustan poet.

The "Vigil of Venus" has been a favorite of the English poets, a number of whom have translated it. We present herewith the rendition of Thomas Parnell, a poet of the eighteenth century.

THE VIGIL OF VENUS

*Let those love now, who never loved before;
 And those who always loved, now love the more.*

THE spring, the new, the warbling spring appears,
 The youthful season of reviving years;
 In spring the loves enkindle mutual heats,
 The feather'd nation choose their tuneful mates,

The trees grow fruitful with descending rain,
And, drest in different greens, adorn the plain.
She comes; to-morrow beauty's empress roves
Through walks that winding run within the groves;
She twines the shooting myrtle into bowers,
And ties their meeting tops with wreaths of flowers;
Then, raised sublimely on her easy throne,
From nature's powerful dictates draws her own.

*Let those love now, who never loved before;
And those who always loved, now love the more.*

'Twas on that day which saw the teeming flood
Swell round, impregnate with celestial blood;
Wand'ring in circles stood the finny crew,
The rest was left a void expanse of blue;
The parent ocean work'd with heaving throes,
And dripping wet the fair Dione rose.

*Let those love now, who never loved before;
And those who always loved, now love the more.*

She paints the purple year with varied show,
Tips the green gem, and makes the blossom glow.
She makes the turgid buds receive the breeze,
Expand to leaves and shade the naked trees.
When gathering damps the misty nights diffuse,
She sprinkles all the morn with balmy dews;
Bright trembling pearls depend at every spray,
And, kept from falling, seem to fall away.
A glossy freshness hence the rose receives,
And blushes sweet through all her silken leaves;
(The drops descending through the silent night,
While stars serenely roll their golden light;)
Close till the morn her humid veil she holds;
Then deck'd with virgin pomp the flower unfolds.
Soon will the morning blush; ye maids, prepare;
In rosy garlands bind your flowing hair;
'Tis Venus' plant: the blood fair Venus shed,
O'er the gay beauty pour'd immortal red:
From love's soft kiss a sweet ambrosial smell
Was taught forever on the leaves to dwell;

From gems, from flames, from orient rays of light,
The richest lustre makes her purple bright;
And she to-morrow weds; the sportive gale
Unties her zone; she bursts the verdant veil;
Through all her sweets the rifling lover flies,
And, as he breathes, her glowing fires arise.

*Let those love now, who never loved before;
And those who always loved, now love the more.*

Now fair Divine to the myrtle grove
Sends the gay Nymphs, and sends her tender love.
And shall they venture? Is it safe to go,
While nymphs have hearts and Cupid wears a bow?
Yes, safely venture; 'tis his mother's will;
He walks unarm'd and undesiring ill;
His torch extinct, his quiver useless hung,
His arrows idle, and his bow unstrung.
And yet, ye Nymphs, beware, his eyes have charms;
And love that's naked, still is love in arms.

*Let those love now, who never loved before;
And those who always loved, now love the more.*

From Venus' bower to Delia's lodge repairs
A virgin train complete with modest airs:
"Chaste Delia, grant our suit! oh, shun the wood,
Nor stain this sacred lawn with savage blood.
Venus, O Delia, if she could persuade,
Would ask thy presence, might she ask a maid."
Here cheerful choirs for three auspicious nights
With songs prolong the pleasurable rites:
Her crowds in measures lightly decent move;
Or seek by pairs the covert of the grove,
Where meeting greens for arbours arch above,
And mingling flowerets strew the scenes of love.
Here dancing Ceres shakes her golden sheaves;
Here Bacchus revels, deckt with tiny leaves;
Here wit's enchanting god, in laurel crown'd,
Wakes all the ravish'd hours with silver sound.
Ye fields, ye forests, own Dione's reign,
And Delia, huntress Delia, shun the plain.

*Let those love now, who never loved before;
And those who always loved, now love the more.*

Gay with the bloom of all her opening year,
The Queen at Hybla bids her throne appear,
And there presides; and there the fav'rite band,
Her smiling Graces, share the great command.
Now, beauteous Hybla! dress thy flowery beds
With all the pride the lavish season sheds;
Now all thy colours, all thy fragrance yield,
And rival Enea's aromatic field.
To fill the presence of the gentle court
From every quarter rural Nymphs resort,
From woods, from mountains, from these humble vales,
From waters curling with the wanton gales.
Pleased with the joyful train, the laughing Queen
In circles seats them round the bank of green;
And, "lovely girls," she whispers, "guard your hearts;
My boy, though stript of arms, abounds in arts."

*Let those love now who never loved before;
And those who always loved, now love the more.*

Let tender grass in shaded alleys spread;
Let early flowers erect their painted head;
To-morrow's glory be to-morrow seen;
That day old Ether wedded Earth in green.
The vernal father bade the spring appear,
In clouds he coupled to produce the year;
The sap descending o'er her bosom ran,
And all the various sorts of soul began
By wheels unknown to sight, by secret veins
Distilling life; the fruitful goddess reigns
Through all the lovely realms of native day,
Through all the circled land and circling sea;
With fertile seed she fill'd the previous earth,
And ever fix'd the mystic ways of birth.

*Let those love now, who never loved before;
And those who always loved, now love the more.*

'Twas she, the parent, to the Latian shore
Through various dangers Troy's remainder bore.

She won Lavinia for her warlike son,
And, winning her, the Latian empire won.
She gave to Mars the maid whose honour'd womb
Swell'd with the founder of immortal Rome.
Decoy'd by shows the Sabine dames she led,
And taught our vigorous youth the means to wed.
Hence sprung the Romans, hence the race divine
Through which great Cæsar draws his Julian line.

*Let those love now, who never loved before;
And those who always loved, now love the more.*

In rural seats the soul of pleasure reigns;
The love of Beauty fills the rural scenes:
Ev'n Love (if fame the truth of Love declare)
Drew first the breathings of a rural air,
Some pleasing meadow pregnant Beauty prest,
She laid her infant on its bowery breast;
From nature's sweets he suppd the fragrant dew,
He smiled, he kiss'd them, and by kissing grew.

*Let those love now, who never loved before;
And those who always loved, now love the more.*

Now hills o'er stalks of broom extend their sides,
Secure of favours from their lowing brides.
Now steady rams their fleecy consorts lead,
Who bleating follow through the wand'ring shade.
And now the goddess bids the birds appear,
Raise all their music, and salute the year;
Then deep the swan begins, and deep the song
Runs o'er the water where he sails along;
While Philomela tunes a treble strain,
And from the poplar charms the list'ning plain.
We fancy love exprest at every note;
It melts, it warbles in her liquid throat.
Of barbarous Tereus she complains no more,
But sings for pleasure, as for grief before.
And still her graces rise, her airs extend,
And all is silence till the syren end.
How long in coming is my lovely spring?
And when shall I, and when the swallow sing?

Sweet Philomela, cease;—or here I sit,
And silent loose my rapturous hour of wit.
'Tis gone; the fit retires, the flames decay
My tuneful Phœbus flies averse away.
His own Amyclæ thus, as stories run,
But once was silent, and that once undone.

*Let those love now, who never loved before;
And those who always loved, now love the more.*

—Translated by THOMAS PARNELL.

An intricate, symmetrical decorative border in a black and white line-art style. It features elaborate scrollwork, floral motifs, and a central diamond-shaped ornament at the top and bottom. The border frames a central rectangular area containing text.

INDEXES
TO
THE CLASSICS
GREEK and LATIN

- I. Proper Names
- II. Subjects

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GUIDE TO USE OF INDEXES

ABBREVIATIONS

G.=Greek ; L.=Latin. The Roman numerals indicate volumes; the Arabic, pages. Thus L. iii. 47 indicates the 47th page of the third volume of the **Latin Classics**. If letter or Roman numeral or both be omitted look back through previous entries for the nearest letter or Roman numeral. The abbreviation n means "note"; s means "and pages following"; q. v. means "which see"; cf. means "see also."

In the Index of Proper Names the abbreviations C., Cn., L., M., P., and Q. indicate respectively the names Caius, Cnaeus, Lucius, Marcus, Publius, and Quintus.

PRONUNCIATION

Every letter is pronounced as in English, following however, these specific rules:

ā=a as in fate, ǣ=a as in fat,	ī=i as in pine, î=i as in pin;
â=a as in car;	ō=o as in note, ô=o as in not;
æ=ē, or æ as in Caesar;	oe=ē, or oe as in foetus;
ai=i, or ai as in aisle;	oi=oi as in oil;
au=au as in laud;	ph=f or ph as in photograph;
c before e, i, or y=s, or c as in cell;	ps (initial)=s, pt (initial)=t;
otherwise k, or c as in cat;	rh=r;
ch=k, or ch as in chorus;	th=th as in pith;
ct (initial)=t;	û=u as in duty, ü=u as in but;
ē=e as in be, ē=e as in bet;	x as initial=z, or x as in xebec,
ei=i, or ei as in eider;	otherwise ks, or x as in ax;
eu=u, or eu as in feud;	ÿ=î, or y as in my, ŷ=i, or y as
g before e, i, or y,=j, or g as in	in myth.
gem; otherwise, g as in go;	

Each vowel or diphthong forms a separate syllable: thus final e is never silent, Halcÿone being pronounced hal-sî-o-ne.

In the Index of Proper Names the accented syllable is shown by a mark over its vowel indicating whether this is long (ˉ) or short (˘); thus Arion is pronounced a-rî-on, and Arminius, ar-mî-n-i-us. The second letter of a diphthong is the one marked. Where no mark appears the initial syllable is accented.

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- Collins, Rev. W. Lucas**, English scholar: author of *Introduction to the Odyssey*, G. ii. 7; translator of Lucian's *Dialogues*, vi. 425; author of *Life of Plautus*, L. i. 19, 21; author of *Life of Terence*, 201; introduction to Cicero's *Tusculan Disputations*, vi. 183.
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persuades Achilles to give up Briseis. Agamemnon sends to Achilles's tent his squires, Talthibios and Eurybates to take Briseis. Achilles orders his comrade Patroklos (Patroclus) to give her up, and goes to the seashore to receive consolation from his mother, the sea-goddess Thetis. He begs Thetis to go to Olympus and ask Zeus to give succor to the Trojans. Agamemnon sends back Chryseis to her father in charge of Odysseus. Chryses prays Apollo, who removes the plague. Zeus grants the request of Thetis. Hera, partisan of the Greeks, suspecting this, upbraids him, but Hephaistos (Hephaestus) makes peace between them by telling a merry story of how Zeus hurled him from Olympus.

Book II. 47. Zeus beguiles Agamemnon by a dream to assemble the Greeks, promising the capture of Troy. Agamemnon, after consultation with Nestor, calls the assembly and tests the Greeks by proposing to return homeward. They agree eagerly and set about the return, when Odysseus, inspired by Athene, restrains them. Thers(e)ites, a demagogue from the ranks, reviles Agamemnon, and is rebuked and smitten by Odysseus. Odysseus tells of a portent of snake and sparrows interpreted by Kalchas as favorable to Greece. He counsels Agamemnon to number the Greeks. This Agamemnon does. The Catalogue of the Ships. Zeus sends a message to Priam, king of Troy, through Iris, messenger of the gods, to number the Trojans. This he does.

Book III. 69. The Greek and Trojan hosts confront each other before the walls of Troy. Alexandros (Paris), Priam's son, whose rape of Helen, wife of Menelaos, caused the war, opens battle by challenge to single combat. Menelaos accepts the challenge, whereat Paris shrinks back. Hector, his brother, upbraids him, and he agrees to fight. The combat takes place before the two armies, and before spectators on the walls of Troy, among whom are Priam, Antenor,

and Helen. Helen points out to the old men the Greek heroes, Agamemnon, Odysseus, Aias (Ajax) Telamon. It is agreed to let the combat decide the war. The combat. Aphrodite saves Paris from defeat, and bears him to Helen's chamber. Helen taunts, but forgives him. The Greeks claim the victory.

Book IV. 81. Council of the gods. Zeus favors peace, but Athene and Hera, Greek partisans, demand vengeance on Trojans. Accordingly Zeus permits Athene to cause Trojans to break the truce. She inspires Pandaros, Trojan archer, to shoot at Menelaos. He is wounded, but healed by Machaon, the Greek physician. Agamemnon arranges the line of battle and inspires the Greek chieftains, Idomeneus and Meriones of Crete Ajax Telamon and Aias (Ajax), son of Oileus, leaders of the Argives, Nestor of the Pylians, Odysseus of the Kephalleians, Diomedes Tyd(e)ides (son of Tydeus) and Sthenelos, of the Aitolians, etc. Battle is joined and many on both sides are slain.

Book V. 95. Diomedes creates havoc among the Trojans. The partisan gods enter into the combat to aid their favorite heroes. Athene leads Ares from the battle. Agamemnon, Idomeneus and Meriones slay Trojan chieftains. Pandaros shoots and wounds Diomedes, but he fights on. Aineias (Aeneas) takes Pandaros in his chariot, and Pandaros wounds Diomedes with his spear. Diomedes wounds Aeneas with a stone. Aphrodite bears Aeneas her son, from the battle, and while so doing is wounded by Diomedes. Apollo rescues her and Aeneas. She is comforted by her mother Dione, and Aeneas is healed by the gods. Ares re-enters the battle in likeness of a Trojan chief, and inspires the Trojans. Hector, Sarpedon, and Aeneas beat back the Greeks, despite the exertions of the two Aiantes (Ajaxes), Odysseus, and Diomedes. Menelaos and Antilochos, son of Nestor, stem the tide. Sarpedon kills Tlepolemos, but is

wounded by him. He is restored by his comrade Pelagon. Hera mounts her car, and Athene dons her armor; they seek Zeus, who grants them leave to remove Ares from the battle. They then seek Diomedes and inspire him to wound Ares. This he does, and Ares flees bellowing to Olympus, where he is cured by Paieon, physician of the gods.

Book VI. 118. The Greek heroes continue their onslaught. Adrestos surrenders to Menelaos, but is killed by order of Agamemnon. Helenos, son of Priam and an augur, directs Hector to return to Troy and have the women propitiate Athene. He does so after encouraging the troops. Diomedes meets Glaukos (Glaucus). Admiring the fortitude of his foe, Diomedes inquires of his ancestors, and Glaukos tells the story of Belerophon, who was the friend of Oineus, Diomedes' grandfather. Therefore Diomedes and Glaukos refrain from battle, and exchange armors: the golden one of Diomedes for the brazen one of Glaukos. Hector seeks his mother Hekabe (Hecuba), and she leads the Trojan women to propitiate Athene. Hector then seeks Paris in his chamber with Helen and upbraids him. Helen pacifies Hector. He goes forth and meets his wife Andromache with their infant son Skamandrios (Astyanax). She begs him to remain within the walls. He refuses and, joined by Paris, goes forth to the battle.

Book VII. 131. Hector and Paris beat back the Trojans. Athene and Apollo agree to have single combat between champions, and, through Helenos, the augur, Hector is inspired to challenge the best of the Greeks. Menelaos volunteers, but Agamemnon dissuades him and a choice is made by lot between nine better warriors: Agamemnon, Diomedes, the Ajaxes, Idomeneus, Meriones, Eurypylos, Thoas, and Odysseus. The lot falls on Ajax Telamon. The contest is fierce and long. Night stays it, and the heroes exchange gifts—Hector's sword for

Ajax's belt. The Greeks burn their dead. The Trojans hold a council; Antenor, the sage, advises giving up Helen. Paris refuses to do this, but offers to restore the wealth he had taken with her. These terms are presented to the Greeks, who refuse them, but allow the Trojans to burn their dead. The Greeks build a wall about their ships.

Book VIII. 144. Council of the gods. Zeus orders victory for the Trojans. Zeus frightens the horses of Diomedes with lightning, so he is kept from battle. Hector drives the Greeks within the ship-wall. Zeus, by an omen, encourages the Greeks, and Teukros, the archer, withstays Hector's onset, killing his charioteer. Hector wounds Teukros with a stone. The Greek partisans among the gods appeal to Zeus, but he grants Hector further victories, in order that Achilles may be drawn into the battle.

Book IX. 158. The Greeks hold council. Agamemnon yields to Nestor's advice to beg Achilles' aid. Diomedes objects, but is overruled. Phoinix (Phoenix), Achilles's old tutor, Ajax Telamon, and Odysseus are sent as ambassadors to Achilles. Achilles denies them, saying he will take no thought of war till Hector smirches the Greek ships with fire. The ambassadors report their failure to the council, and Diomedes, regretting that they had demeaned themselves by asking aid of Achilles, urges the Greeks to "fight on."

Book X. 176. Agamemnon and Menelaos take counsel by night. Taking Nestor, they go the rounds, and confer with the Greek chieftains. Diomedes offers to go as a spy among the Trojans. He chooses Odysseus as a companion. Athene sends them a favorable omen. That same night Hector sends Dolon to spy among the Greeks. He is captured by Diomedes and Odysseus, and persuaded to reveal the Trojan plans, and then killed. Diomedes and Odysseus steal the horses of Rhesos, and return laughing to the ships.

Book XI. 192. The goddess Discord, sent by Zeus, rouses the battle spirit among the Greeks and Trojans. Agamemnon performs heroic deeds. He is wounded by Iphidamas, whom he slays, and he returns to the ships. Hector comes forth and creates havoc among the Greeks. Diomedes and Odysseus fighting together, await his onset. Hector avoids them. Paris wounds Diomedes, and he returns to the ships. Odysseus remains, and performs mighty deeds. He is wounded by Sokos, whom he kills. He is rescued by Menelaos and Ajax Telamon. Ajax drives the Trojans before him. Machaon, the Greek physician, is wounded by Paris. Nestor brings him to the ships. Achilles invites them into his tent (hut), but Nestor refuses, and upbraids Achilles for his inaction.

Book XII. 214. Poseidon and Apollo turn the streams of the Trojan plain against the ship-wall of the Greeks, within which Hector has penned them. Zeus sends an evil omen to the Trojans, which Hector disregards, saying, "One omen is best, to fight for our own country." He leads the Trojans to attack the wall, which is stoutly defended. Hector breaks in the gate with a stone, and, entering with his men, drives the Greeks in confusion back among their ships.

Book XIII. 226. Poseidon incites the Greeks to defend their ships, especially Idomeneus and Meriones, who perform valorous deeds, as also do Menelaos and the two Ajaxes. Going forward with Paris, Hector opposes Ajax Telamon, and they revile each other as night ends the battle.

Book XIV. 248. Agamemnon takes counsel with Nestor, Odysseus and Diomedes. He advises launching the ships to save them from burning at the hands of the Trojans. Odysseus rebukes him, saying that the Greeks would then flee homeward. Diomedes advises that they "fight on." Poseidon inspires the Greeks to do the same. Hera borrows from Aphrodite her love-compelling girdle, and, bribing the god Sleep to aid her in the

conquest of Zeus, lures him into unconsciousness, in order that he may not aid the Trojans. Led by Poseidon, the wounded Greeks move against the Trojans. Ajax Telamon wounds Hector with a stone, but he is rescued by his fellows and taken from the battle.

Book XV. 262. Zeus awakens, and bids Apollo inspire Hector, and Iris to tell Poseidon to cease from the battle. Poseidon murmurs, but obeys. Aided by Apollo, Hector drives back the Greeks upon their ships. Patroklos, comrade of Achilles, hastens to urge him to join the battle. Ajax Telamon opposes Hector manfully, but the Trojan hero, seizing the ship of Protesilaos, orders fire to be brought to consume it.

Book XVI. 281. The Trojans fire the ships, whereupon Achilles grants Patroklos permission to fight, which he does in Achilles' armor. Achilles prays to Zeus on behalf of Patroklos. Patroklos drives the Trojans from the ships, and quenches the fire. The other Greek heroes perform deeds of valor. Sarpedon, son of Zeus, rushes to oppose Patroklos, and Zeus, foreknowing his doom, sheds bloody raindrops on the earth. Patroklos kills Sarpedon. The Greeks and Trojans fight to take his body. Apollo bears the dead Sarpedon out of the conflict. Hector advances against Patroklos. Patroklos kills Hector's charioteer, and contends with Hector for the body. Aided by Apollo, Hector kills Patroklos.

Book XVII. 304. Hector strips Patroklos of Achilles' armor, and the Greeks and Trojans contend for the body. Hector, donning Achilles' armor, charges among the Greeks at the head of the Trojans, but falls back before Ajax Telamon. Aeneas, encouraged by Apollo, rallies the Trojans. The horses of Achilles weep for the death of their charioteer Patroklos. Automedon, fellow charioteer of Patroklos, drives them into battle. Menelaos sends Antilochos, son of Nestor, to Achilles with the news of Patroklos's death. The Greeks win

the body. Menelaos and Meriones bear it away under the guard of the Ajaxes.

Book XVIII. 323. Achilles mourns Patroklos, and his mother Thetis comes with her nymphs to console him. She promises to bring him armor made by Hephaistos to replace that taken by Hector, that he may go forth and avenge on Hector the death of Patroklos. Hephaistos fashions with wondrous art the Shield of Achilles.

Book XIX. 339. Thetis brings Achilles his armor. Achilles rouses the Greeks. He is reconciled with Agamemnon, through the offices of Odysseus. Agamemnon restores Briseis. Briseis laments over Patroklos. Achilles dons his new armor, and addresses his horses, Xanthos and Balios. Xanthos, endowed with speech by Hera, reveals Apollo's part in the death of Patroklos, and prophesies Achilles's own death by the same god. Achilles rebukes the horse and resolves to fight to the death.

Book XX. 349. Zeus calls the gods into council. He gives each partisan god permission to aid his side. These urge on the hosts to battle. Apollo encourages Aeneas to oppose Achilles. They fight, and Aeneas is rescued from defeat by Poseidon. Apollo commands Hector not to challenge Achilles, but to await him in the mellay. Achilles slays many Trojans, including Polydoros, brother of Hector. Hector hurls his spear at Achilles, but Athene turns it aside. Achilles attacks Hector, who is saved by Apollo. Achilles presses on, carrying devastation throughout the ranks of the Trojans.

Book XXI. 362. Achilles drives the Trojans into the river Xanthos. There he kills Lykaon (Lycaon), half-brother of Hector, and Asteropeias, grandson of a river-god. The river Scamander (Xanthos) is angered, and fights Achilles with all his waves. Achilles comes safe through the flood by the help of Poseidon, Athene, and Hephaistos, who fights the river with fire. Priam on the sacred tower of Troy

beholds the destruction wrought by Achilles, and orders the gates to be opened to receive the fleeing crowd. Agenor, aided by Apollo, holds back Achilles until the fugitives gain within the city.

Book XXII. 378. Hector, in despite of the pleadings of Priam and Hecuba, awaits Achilles before the gate of Troy. However, fear seizes him at Achilles's onslaught, and he flees before him around the city. Four times they circle the walls, when Athene, in likeness of Deiphobos, persuades Hector to stand and fight. Achilles slays Hector, and strips him of his armor and drags the body behind his chariot back to his tent. Hecuba and Andromache grieve for Hector.

Book XXIII. 391. The spirit of Patroklos appears to Achilles and begs burial for his body. Funeral of Patroklos. Athletic games are held in his honor.

Book XXIV. 413. For twelve days Achilles drags the body of Hector behind his chariot around the grave of Patroklos. The partisans of the Trojans among the gods appeal to Zeus against this indignity. He orders Thetis to persuade Achilles to restore the body of Hector to Priam for ransom. Priam, guided by Hermes, goes with gifts to Achilles, and begs from him the body of his son. This Achilles grants. For ten days the Trojans hold the funeral of Hector, while Achilles restrains the Greeks from attacking Troy.

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- Marobōdus**, Suebian king: conquers Bohemia, L. v. 394n, 414n.
- Mars**, god of war: in *Iliad*, q. v.; amour with Venus, ii. 110, L. iv. 421; in Hesiod's *Theogony*, q. v.; worship of, in Egypt, G. v. 139, 140; worshipped by Druids, L. v. 42; god of Germans, 365; Julian the Emperor on, vii. 335.
- Marsus**, Roman poet: L. iv. 271; on death of Tibullus, 158.
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- Martial(is), M. Valērius**, Latin poet: praised by Lord Chesterfield, G. iii. 340; originator of Latin epigram, L. i. 2; on birthplaces of Roman poets, iii. 12; on Juvenal, 363; on Sulpicia, 356, iv. 217; on Tibullus, 158; on Valerius Flaccus, viii. 392; sketch of, viii. 404.
- Martin, Theodore**, English scholar: on loves of Horace, L. iii. 21; on Catullus, iv. 61.
- Marūllus, Epīdius**, Roman tribune: deposed by Caesar for brave act, L. viii. 156, 158.
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- Matris**, author of an *Encomium upon Hercules*: bombast of, G. iv. 378.
- Mauricus, Junius**: Pliny on, L. vi. 413.
- Mausōlus**, king of Caria: his queen Artemisia establishes oratorical contest in his honor, G. v. 22, vi. 123, L. vi. 285; *Mausolus and Diogenes*, dialogue of Lucian, G. vi. 450.
- Maximiān(us)**, Roman poet, L. viii. 363.
- Maximus, Claudius**, Stoic philosopher: teacher of Marcus Aurelius, L. vii. 23.
- Maximus, Q.**, Roman orator: Cicero on, L. vi. 31, 41.
- Maximus Tyrius**, Greek poet: on Anacreon, G. iii. 133; as philosopher, iv. 298.
- Medēa**, princess of Colchis: character in the *Argonautica*, G. ii. 411; epigrams on, G. iii. 354, 397; *Medea*, illustration, vii. 78; tragedy of Euripides, 121, 125, 131, 132; *Medea*, poem of Ennius, L. i. 14; *Medea*, tragedy of Ovid, 16; iv. 324; story of, iv. 284; *Medea, Flight of*, poem by Valerius Flaccus, viii. 393.
- Mēdia**, see Persia.
- Medūsa**, monster slain by Perseus, L. iv. 437s.

- Mēgara**, the butt of other Greek cities, G. iii. 257; devastated by Athens, v. 251.
- Megāsthēnes**, Greek historian: Strabo regards him as fabulous, G. vi. 405.
- Mela, Lucius Annaeus**, brother of Seneca, L. i. 367; father of Lucan, v. 11.
- Melāmpus**, ancient Greek seer, G. ii. 210n.; institutes phallic worship, v. 135.
- Melēager**, ancient Greek hero: slain by Calydonian boar, G. i. 63, 171; story of, in ode of Bacchylides, iii. 180.
- Meleāger of Gādara**, Greek anthologist, G. iii. 339: epigrams of, 385.
- Melesigenes**, name of Homer, G. ii. 392.
- Melētus**, obscure tragic poet: one of Socrates's accusers, G. iv. 104s.
- Melinnō**, Greek poetess, G. iii. 120.
- Melius, Spurius**: killed by Ahala, L. vi. 124.
- Melos**, Greek island: conquered by Athens, G. vi. 157.
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- Memmius, L.**, Roman orator: Cicero on, L. vi. 88, 110.
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- Menānder**, Greek comic dramatist: claqueur of Demosthenes, G. vi. 281n; sketch of, vii. 255; fragments of, 276; worsted by Philemon, 286; model of Livius Andronicus, L. i. 6; adapted by Plautus, 10; compared with Caecilius, 11; adapted by Terence, 13; translated by Afranius, 16, 17; his appeal to his hearers, 22; his *Didymi* the source of Plautus's *Menaechmi*, 150n; copied by Caecilius, 201, 203.
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- Menecles**, Greek orator: Cicero on, L. vi. 117.
- Menēcrates**, Greek medical writer: cited by Strabo, G. vi. 404.
- Menedēmus**, Greek philosopher, G. iv. 297; on the Septuagint, L. vii. 180.
- Menedēmus**, character in the *Heautontimorumenos* of Terence, L. i. 205.
- Menelāus**, king of Sparta: in Trojan War, G. i. 24; in *Iliad* q. v.; entertains Telemachus, ii. 50; *Menelaus and Helen*, epithalamium of, by Theocritus, iii. 271; Egyptian account of, v. 162.
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- Menēstheus**, Greek patriot: inscription in honor of, G. vi. 245.
- Menēxenus**, pupil of Socrates, G. iv. 129.
- Menippus**, Greek Cynic philosopher, G. iv. 88; satirized by Lucian, vi. 441, 443; *Menippus and Charon*, dialogue of Lucian, 445; *Menippus in Hades*, dialogue of Lucian, 440; *Menippus and Cerberus*, dialogue of Lucian, 448; *Menippus and Mercury*, dialogue of Lucian, 449; imitated by Varro, L. v. 9.
- Menippus of Caria**, Greek orator: teacher of Cicero, G. vi. 66, L. vi. 113.
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- Mercury**, god: in *Iliad*, q. v; orders Calypso to release Odysseus, G. ii. 15, 72; *Hymn to*, by Homer, 359; epigram on the theft of a statue of, iii. 382; thievery of, vi. 435; *Mercury and Charon*, dialogues of Lucian, 440, 445, 446, 451; *Mercury and Menippus*, dialogue of Lucian, 449; character in *Prometheus Bound*, vii. 29; messenger to Dido, L. ii. 120; flight

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- Merion(es)**, Greek chieftain: in *Iliad*, q. v.
- Merivale, Charles**, English scholar: translator of Greek epigrams, G. iii. 347, 349, 350, 356, 363, 364, 370, 375, 379, 387, 398, 399, 401, 403, 408.
- Merivale, John Hermann**, English scholar: translator of poems by Archilochus, G. iii. 97; translator of fragments of Sappho, 125, 126, 128, 130; translator of epigram by Antipater of Sidon, 134.
- Merrill, William Augustus**, American scholar: introduction by, to Lucretius, L. iv. 1.
- Messāl(l)a Corvinus**, Roman statesman: friend of Horace, L. iii. 18, 185, 187, 311; patron of Tibullus, iv. 151, 153s, 168, 175, 180, 181, 191, 222; marries Terentia, v. 109n; Cicero on, vi. 88; defended by Hortensius, 118; on Augustus, viii. 172.
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- Messalinus**, son of Messala: Tibullus to, L. iv. 198.
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- Messēnia**, country of Greece: wars with Sparta, G. vi. 147.
- Mētabus**, chief of the Volsci: father of Camilla, L. ii. 379.
- Metāgenes**, Greek comic dramatist: fragment of, G. vii. 285.
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- Metēllus Numidicus**, conqueror of Jugurtha: Plutarch's *Life* of, G. vi. 30; Cicero on, L. vi. 24, 31, 32, 73; compared with Priam, 218; against race-suicide, viii. 184.
- Metīlius, Marcus**, Roman tribune: speaks against Fabius, L. v. 291.
- Metrocles**, Cynic philosopher, G. iv. 88.
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- Meyer, Herr**, German painter: his *Intellectual Education of a Greek Youth*, G. vi. 124; his *Physical Education of a Greek Youth*, 294.
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- Midias, Oration against**, by Demosthenes, G. vi. 43.
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- Milesian Tales**, by Aristides, et al., G. vii. 297, L. viii. xiv. 69.
- Milētus, On the Female Martyrs of**, Greek epigram, G. iii. 356.
- Miller, Marion Mills**, editor-in-chief of *The Classics*: author of all introductions not otherwise accredited: translator of poems and fragments of Sappho, G. iii. 122, 127, 128, 129; translator of Theocritus, 195; author of sonnets on *Socrates* and *Jesus*, iv. 128; translator of *Horace and the Bore*, L. iv. 229; translator of *The Halcyon Birds*, by Ovid, 287.
- Milo(n)**, famous Greek athlete, G. iii. 218; satirized by Lucian, vi. 456.
- Milo, Annius**, Roman tribune:

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- Mimnermus**, Greek poet, G. iii. 95; author of *Shortness of Life*, 108; friend of Solon, iv. 29; Horace on, L. iii. 247.
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- Mindarus**, Spartan admiral: sacrifices at Troy, G. i. 23.
- Minerva**, goddess: in *Judgment of Paris*, G. i. 24; in *Iliad*, q. v.; procures from Zeus return of Odysseus; appears to Telemachus; advises him to oppose Wooers, ii. 13; assumes shape of Mentor, 32; reveals herself to Odysseus, 185; *Homer's Hymn* to, 386; see the *Theogony* of Hesiod; worship of, in Egypt, v. 138; satirized by Lucian, vi. 438; patron of Latin literature, L. i. 7; hides Eriethonius in basket, iv. 377; inspires envy of Herse in her sister, 386s; transforms Medusa's hair to snakes, 444; Julian the Emperor on, vii. 330.
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- Mnēstheus**, Trojan chieftain: drives Turnus from the walls, L. ii. 333.
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- Modestus, Mettius**, Roman philosopher: exiled by Domitian, L. vi. 411, 413.
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- Molière**, French dramatist: copies plays of Plautus, L. i. 10.
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- MommSEN, Theodor**, German scholar: translates Naevius, L. i. 8; on Ulpian's *Rules*, vii. 347.
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- Montaigne**, French essayist: on Caesar, L. v. 28.
- Montemayor**, French author: inspired by *The Pastorals* of Longus, G. vii. 300.
- Montesquieu**, French author: on origin of duelling and chivalry, L. v. 367n; on origin of British constitution, 368n; on origin of fiscal revenue, 370n; on origin of feudal system, 374n; on Salic Law, 382n; on Caesar and Tacitus, 424n; on Marcus Aurelius, vii. 18.
- Moore, Abraham**, English scholar: translator of *Ode* of Pindar, G. iii. 163.
- Moore, Thomas**, Irish poet: translator of poems of Sappho, G. iii. 124, 129; of poems of Anacreon, 134.
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- Morley, Henry**, English scholar: his sketch of Aristophanes, G. vii. 18.

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- Nicias**, physician: friend of Theocritus, G. iii. 248, 252, 303.
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- Symonds, John Addington**, English scholar: translator of *Winter*, by Alcaeus, G. iii. 114; on "Greek love," 117; translator of Greek epigram on Erinna, 119; on destruction of Sappho's poems, 120; translator of poems and fragments of Sappho, 123, 124, 126, 127, 130; translator of *Hymn to Virtue*, by Aristotle, 358; Greek epigram, 363.
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